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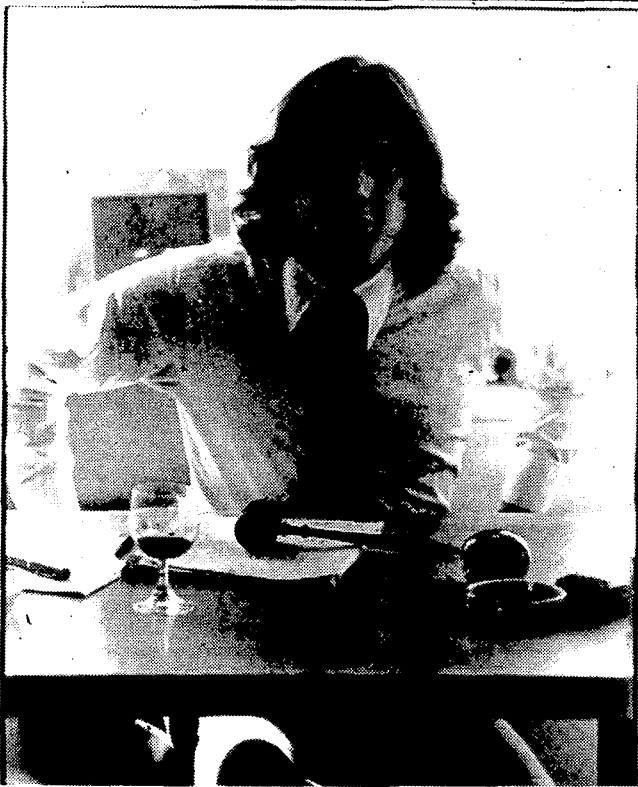
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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Rolling Stone's Jann Wenner.

Courtesy Rolling Stone

A requiem for Rolling Stone

Rolling Stone was the most important magazine to come out of the '60s and survive in the '70s. At its best, it was like the best of rock'n'roll: both popular and artistically honest.

Last week was *Rolling Stone's* tenth anniversary. It should have been its chance to shine, but the two-hour TV special and special anniversary issue that it produced were epic failures.

The TV show had its moments, especially when daffy Steve Martin was on camera. But Martin's impact was muted by a parade of inanities and irrelevances: Mike Wilson of the Beach Boys telling how he found the inner light; Ted Neely, the justly forgotten star of *Jesus Christ Superstar*, doing a Beatles' medley ("A Day in the Decade") while what looked like out-takes from Ken Russell's *Tommy* were going on in the background; four rock stars inconsequentially discussing their lives on the road ("There's a long way to go on the road," "It's not bad. It's good. It's weird."); and Bette Midler, who received top billing, singing 1940s Edith Piaf.

The tenth anniversary issue did have a portfolio of Annie Leibowitz's photos, but besides that it only evidenced the decline of *Rolling Stone's* most prominent voices: Hunter Thompson showed that his flights of fancy and egomania are no longer props to illuminate larger dramas but have become the drama itself; David Felton gave a history of his years at *Rolling Stone* that had all the candor of a press release ("But what it boils down to is we're a family..."); and Chet Flippo's presentation of the *Rolling Stone* philosophy rivaled Hugh Hefner's "Playboy Philosophy" in sheer banality.

This double disaster indicated that *Rolling Stone* could no longer summarize or explain itself to its reading public. It is another sign that *Rolling Stone* is no longer exceptional.

Like many a past journalistic breakthrough, its format and philosophy were fixed by the preoccupations of a certain historical period. At a later date, it has found itself floundering—with an audience, but without a clear idea about what to say to it. It has a market, but no message.

Because it was built on a sound commercial foundation, *Rolling Stone* has not collapsed. It may even, like the post-Harold Ross *New Yorker*, continue to print outstanding pieces; but it has lost irrevocably its early edge and direction.

Flowerchild and intellectual.

Rolling Stone was the brainchild of Jann Wenner, a Berkeley dropout who claimed his life began when he saw the Beatles' *A Hard Day's Night*, and Ralph J. Gleason, a *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist who

championed jazz and Lenny Bruce in the '50s and Bob Dylan and the FSM in the '60s.

They were the perfect combination: a flowerchild with the commercial drive of William Randolph Hearst and an aging intellectual with the rosy vision of a flowerchild. Wenner assiduously avoided the esoteric arrogance and amateurishness of the underground press. He knew he would have to produce a product in which record companies would buy ads.

Gleason grounded it in the promise of a "revolution in consciousness" with rock music at its center. To the extent that the promise existed, *Rolling Stone* thrived while its slicker competitors failed.

Gleason's philosophy also provided *Rolling Stone* with some distance from the left radicals of the period. Like them, Gleason tended to divide America into blacks, the poor, and "non-conformist youth," on the one hand, and their white elders, on the other hand. He also tended to interpret the rightwing backlash of the late '60s as the stuff of which fascism was made and to see politics in terms of the good guys vs. the bad guys.

But Gleason remained critical of the radicals' methods and philosophies. "Nothing I have read by SDS and the rest is as relevant as Allen Ginsburg's poems," he said in 1969.

For Gleason, it was the cultural revolution that mattered: "Dylan and the Beatles started something which is beyond politics, past the programs of the planners... Out of it will come programs. Out of it will come the plans. When the time is right."

Insane fantasy.

This outlook prepared Wenner to weather the storm after the Cambodian invasion and Kent State, when several of his editors wanted the magazine to become more political. Left critics have interpreted the subsequent ouster of Managing Editor John Burks and Review Editor Greil Marcus as *Rolling Stone's* final undoing, but in retrospect, Wenner had a good case.

Rolling Stone's readership has remained 18 to 24 year old rock fans whose interest in politics remains peripheral. To have pushed politics at the expense of rock'n'roll would have jeopardized *Rolling Stone's* readership and its advertisers. (Its issue with the Chicago 7 on the cover had been an all-time dud.) In the end, it would have prevented Wenner from subsidizing 20,000-word, carefully researched articles on politics from Hunter Thompson or Carl Bernstein.

In fact, after the Kent State issue, Wenner did not abandon political coverage; the best was yet to come with Hunter Thompson and Timothy Crouse on the McGovern campaign. He cut his links with the radicalism of the '60s. In a 1971 editorial, Wenner branded the radical's violent strategies "insane fantasy." He also declared himself in favor of a humane capitalism, a commitment that was clear from the beginning and was, again, no worse as a journalistic framework than the radicals' philosophy of violent solutions and non-democratic socialism.

In subsequent years, it allowed *Rolling Stone* to see what was positive in McGovern's campaign and also to lead a crusade against the Nixon regime, based on Gleason's old vision of the good guys vs. the bad guys.

Myth of a counterculture.

But while *Rolling Stone* weathered the Weathermen, it did not survive unscathed from the decline of rock artistry. By the early '70s, most of the leading rock groups had disbanded, or the performers had simply lost their verve, or died. Except for a spark of light from Stevie Wonder, Bruce Springsteen, Randy Newman, or Patti Smith, these were dark days for rock.

In the same 1971 editorial where he dismissed the radicals, Wenner also expressed his disillusionment with the cultural revolution. "Woodstock nation never ex-

isted," Wenner proclaimed. "The notion of a counterculture is another myth."

But the same disillusionment with rock and the rock culture that began to prevail among the *Rolling Stone* writers and editors did not prevail among its young readership and among the record company executives and concert promoters. The rock business was never better.

Rolling Stone was in a bind. Because it was beholden to the record companies for its survival, it had never printed many critical reviews, or exposes of the music industry, but it did investigate in depth the musical and social philosophies of John Lennon, Janis Joplin, Jerry Garcia, Peter Townshend, and other deservedly famous rock performers of the '60s.

But as the stars began to dim, the pressure to highlight someone remained, and it nourished a new breed of *Rolling Stone* rock critics, who simply put their doubt aside, and proceeded like post-adolescent groupies to celebrate the latest idols. Dave Marsh and Charles M. Young will typically devote much of their features or reviews to extended descriptions of the difficulties they had in getting to meet the Sex Pistols or to obtaining a ticket for the *Rolling Stones* Macambo concert. They will then gush over how weird the Sex Pistols are or how great the exclusive concert was.

In a Young article on Kiss, a group whose only claim to fame is their bizarre costumes, he begins: "After seeing Kiss backstage without their makeup, I have lost all ambition to do anything with my life except see them naked." All ye who can identify with such sentiments proceed further.

Winners and losers.

Rolling Stone's political vision was largely sustained through this period by Hunter Thompson, who had the Gleason-Wenner good guy/bad guy conception. It left him finally ill-equipped to assess the grey politics of the late '70s, with no heroes or villains.

In April 1976, *Rolling Stone* published Thompson's quasi-endorsement of Carter, based seemingly on Carter's passing references to Bob Dylan in a 1974 speech Thompson witnessed. Wenner endorsed him the next week, saying that he was tired of backing losers.

In Thompson's case, a politics based on sentiment led to mush and then, it seems, to confusion and withdrawal. (In his anniversary issue article, there is slight reference to present reality.) In Wenner's case, it has led him to abandon whatever vague anti-establishment politics he had in favor of placing *Rolling Stone* in America's vast and largely undefined political center.

Since Carter's election, *Rolling Stone* has largely ignored Carter administration news, but when it has covered the White House, as in Joe Klein's article on "whizkids" Jody Powell and Hamilton Jordan, it has done so with the same blind affection it brings to a Peter Frampton concert.

Rolling Stone has truly joined company with *Atlantic Monthly*, the *New Yorker*, *Harper's*, *New Republic*, *Esquire*, and *Playboy*, magazines that have also outlived their initial vision, but that struggle on with a readership and ad base intact. It is entirely characteristic of such magazines to drift from insensate stupidity to mediocrity to excellence, depending on the issue.

Certainly, *Rolling Stone* has published as many articles worth reading in the last year as any other magazine, from Gail Sheehy's version of the Rupert Murdoch story to Howard Kohn and Barbara Newman's story of how Israel got the bomb to Carl Bernstein's expose of the CIA and the press. It has Greil Marcus and Ellen Willis as columnists, and Roger Black as art director and Annie Leibowitz as Chief Photographer.

But it is also capable of presenting Bette Midler or Jim Messina as the best of rock'n'roll, or of permitting Chet Flippo, at this late date, to divide contemporary culture into what is and isn't rock'n'roll.

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Winning big in Houston

By Karen Wellisch

Tens of thousands of people flocked to Houston the weekend of Nov. 18 for the most remarkable women's gathering of the second wave of feminist struggle. The occasion was the National Women's Conference (NWC), the culmination of 56 state and territorial meetings held earlier this year, and coordinated by the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year.

Anti-feminist Phyllis Schlafly had confidently predicted that the NWC would mark "the death of the women's movement." It didn't. Instead, the message from the nearly 2,000 delegates and some 10-15,000 observers meeting at the first publicly funded national women's gathering was that the spirit of feminism has touched and moved a very diverse population indeed, and that the status of women in American society is, more than ever before, a serious mainstream political concern.

If the Houston conference was a significant political event, it was also notable public theater. Three days of serious discussion in plenary sessions were preceded and accompanied by dozens of celebrations and related attractions: women runners carried a torch from Seneca Falls, N.Y., to Houston, with Bella Abzug and Billie Jean King running the last mile side-by-side; continuous entertainment was offered at the Albert Thomas Convention Center; organizations and women's businesses and presses passed out literature and sold buttons, books and T-shirts in a crowded exhibit hall; distinguished women in government gave a series of "briefings from the Top."

Rosalynn Carter and former First Ladies Betty Ford and Lady Bird Johnson joined hands at the podium; Susan B. Anthony's grandniece gave an impassioned speech for ERA from the floor;

feminist celebrities were everywhere; Washington dignitaries and women office-holders abounded.

Nearly 2,000 members of the press were credentialed to cover the conference; the Houston public television network broadcast the plenary sessions live; the feminist monthly *Houston Breakthrough* published daily. Commissioners, speakers, delegates and observers were a veritable "Who's Who" of American women.

Diverse representation.

Some 130,000 women attended the state and territorial IWY conferences at which delegates to the NWC were elected.

The legislation establishing the conference called for diverse representation in state delegations, and with a few notable exceptions, it was achieved. The 1,442 elected delegates, plus the delegates-at-large appointed by the National Commission, were women of all ages, incomes, backgrounds and ethnic, racial and religious groups.

Minority representation was much higher than at other women's movement events—17.4 percent of the delegates were black, 8.3 percent hispanic and almost 10 percent members of other minority groups.

Political office-holders dominated the podium; leaders of women's organizations shared the spotlight only sporadically. Among the delegates, however, organizational presence at the conference was strong, if somewhat uncoordinated and not always publicly acknowledged.

Only a small number of delegates-at-large were specifically appointed as organizational representatives, but hundreds of delegates wore NOW, CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women) and AAUW (American Association of University Women) buttons. Leaders and members of BPW (Business and Professional Women),

the League of Women Voters, the Girl Scouts and a wide spectrum of other women's professional, political and religious groups were also present.

Resolutions passed at state and territorial meetings, plus recommendations contained in the National Commission's original report, *To Form a More Perfect Union*, were incorporated in a proposed "National Plan of Action," which served as the agenda for the conference plenary sessions.

The 26-point plan, which reads, as one delegate put it, like "the familiar laundry list of feminist issues," included detailed resolutions on arts and humanities, battered women, business, child abuse, child care, credit, disabled women, education, political participation, employment, the ERA, health, homemakers, insurance, international affairs, media, minority women, offenders, older women, rape, reproductive freedom, sexual preference, statistics and welfare, plus a resolution calling for the establishment of a cabinet-level federal women's department.

All but the women's department resolution, which was opposed because it would "ghettoize" women's concerns at the federal level, were adopted by overwhelmingly favorable margins. Specifics included support for inclusion of women in programs administered by the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, comprehensive, federally funded child care programs, the elimination of sex role stereotyping in educational materials, strong enforcement of anti-bias statutes, a national full employment program, national health insurance and a minimum guaranteed income.

Most resolutions were adopted in the same form that they appeared in the National Plan of Action. Where substitutions and amendments were made, they generally liberalized, clarified or extended original proposals.

Overwhelming delegate support for the National Plan of Action was facilitated by an active network called the "Pro-Plan Caucus," organized shortly before and during the conference to promote unity and an orderly progression of the agenda that would allow consideration of all the issues. The strategy was largely successful, with Pro-Plan leaders loosely coordinating floor action, explaining conference rules to delegates and generally moving the agenda forward.

The Big Three.

The most anxiety, as well as the most enthusiasm at the conference was generated during consideration of three issues—the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion ("reproductive freedom") and lesbian rights ("sexual preference").

Years of determined struggle by feminists have succeeded in making ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment a majority political concern, and a remarkable array of forces supports that effort. Never has this been more clear than at the National Women's Conference.

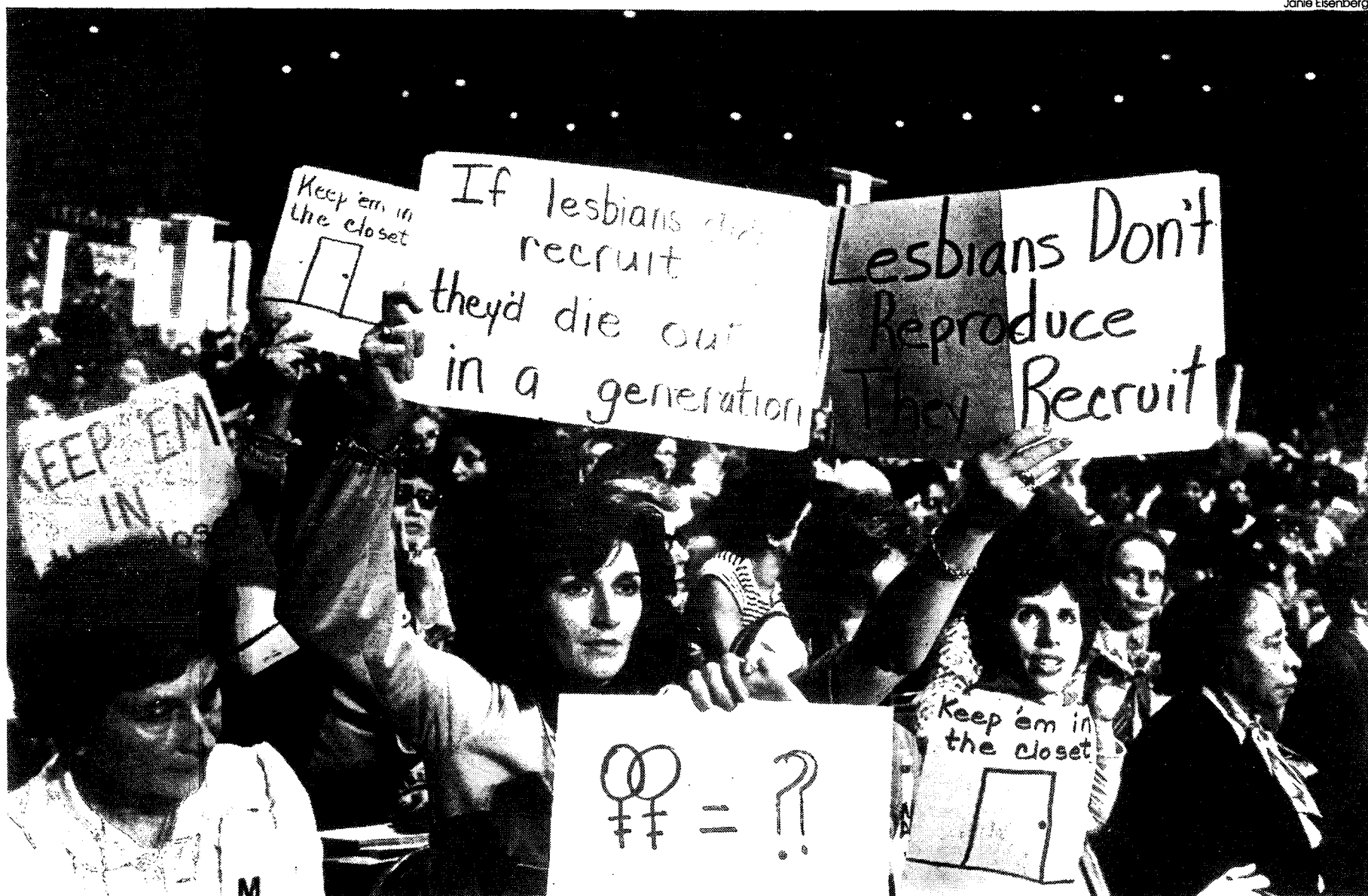
If there was one issue in Houston, everyone agreed it was ERA. The Plan of Action statement on ERA says simply that it "should be ratified," and conference delegates and observers overwhelmingly agreed. Spontaneous pro-ERA floor demonstrations erupted again and again during debate and speeches on numerous issues. Every ceremonial and substantive speaker at the podium addressed the issue.

Majority sentiment was summed up by ERAmerica co-chair Liz Carpenter, who told some 5,000 people attending that group's cocktail party fundraiser, "If I die, don't send flowers—just three more states."

The reproductive freedom plank of

Continued on page 18.

The potentially enormous impact of the modern feminist movement was made abundantly clear as members of women's organizations of the political center, union women, staunch feminists, civil rights activists and elected officials joined hands.



"Pro-life/pro-family" demonstrators and delegates strongly opposed the conference resolution on sexual preference and lesbian rights.

FULL EMPLOYMENT

Employment data under fire

Pushed by ongoing criticism of current statistical methods, Congress has created a commission

By Paul Rosenstiel
Pacific News Service

WASHINGTON, D.C.—President Carter's recently announced aim of reducing unemployment to 4 percent by 1983 may prove even more ambitious and difficult than it now appears.

Before that date the government may adopt a new way to measure unemployment that reflects growing criticism by economists that the current unemployment index drastically under-reports the true number of the jobless.

President Carter recently appointed Sar A. Levitan, a leading critic of the index, as head of the new National Commission on Employment and Unemployment Statistics. Created by Congress last year in response to growing criticism, the commission will recommend changes in the way the government measures and reports employment and unemployment.

If Levitan's thinking becomes the basis for a new official unemployment index, the new measure will show that unemployment and the hardship it creates is much more severe than the current index reflects—especially in inner cities and rural poverty areas.

The result could be massive redistribution to those areas and away from suburbs of \$16 billion a year in federal subsidies for community development, job creation, job training, revenue sharing and other programs, currently distributed on the basis of formulas that include an area's unemployment rate.

Levitan, director of the Center for Social Policy Studies at George Washington University, is a close associate of Labor Secretary Ray Marshall, who must advise Congress on whether to implement what the commission recommends. The recommendations are expected by early 1979.

According to Levitan, our manner of measuring unemployment is obsolete. When it was developed in the late 1930s, he says, it was accurate to equate joblessness with hardship. But today the situation is more complex. "What we need is an index that will more realistically reflect today's needs in today's economy," he says.

Levitan and economist Robert Taggart, a Labor department official, believe they have developed one. Their Employment and Earnings Inadequacy (EEI) index measures the inability of people "to attain an adequate standard of living through work."

In March 1974, when official unemployment was 5.3 percent, the EEI was 10.5 percent. Even in 1969, when the unemployment rate was only 3.5 percent, the EEI was 9.8 percent. The EEI also shows unemployment for some segments of the population to be particularly severe. Black EEI in 1974 was 23 percent, and among black women heading families it was 56 percent.

Other models.

Levitan and Taggart are not alone in computing alternative unemployment statistics. The AFL-CIO, for example, contends unemployment in September was really 9.8 percent instead of the official 6.9 percent. The National Urban League's measure for the last three months of 1976 was 13.7 percent for the whole economy (compared to the official 7.3) and 2.3 percent for blacks and 58.3 percent for black teenagers.

Most alternative statistics build on the

way the government now computes unemployment. Based on 47,000 monthly interviews, the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) classifies people as employed if they work as little as one hour a week at a paying job, and as unemployed if they don't work but have searched for work in the past month. These two groups comprise the labor force, and the unemployment rate is the percentage of the labor force that is unemployed.

Undercounts unemployed.

Critics claim this method undercounts the unemployed in two important ways. First, people working part-time but wanting full-time work should be considered unemployed—or underemployed—instead of fully employed.

Secondly, at least some of those not in the labor force who want to work should be counted—especially those not seeking jobs because they don't believe any are available.

The AFL-CIO and the National Urban League compute their rates by adding, in different ways, these two groups. Levitan and Taggart include a third group as well: full-time workers who fail to earn an adequate income.

Economist David Gordon of New York's New School for Social Research, using different standards than Levitan's and Taggart's, computed 1975 overall unemployment at 32.7 percent (compared to an official rate of 8.5) and black unemployment at 50.9 percent.

In contrast, Jack Carlson, chief economist for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, contends that we currently overestimate hardship from unemployment. Government programs such as unemployment insurance cushion the impact, he says. In the case of some low-wage workers, he adds, "The wife works, too, and both of them together are middle income."

Hurts urban areas.

Urban and minority leaders argue that current statistical methods shortchange them of federal dollars allotted on the basis of unemployment indices. The Bureau of Labor Statistics publishes 4,300 state and local unemployment figures, but most represent large metropolitan areas or whole counties where suburban economic health often statistically balances inner city economic decay.

Small cities suffer as well. "Sometimes smaller communities are completely excluded from federal programs because they have to receive a low county rate assigned to them, even though they may have very high unemployment," says Don Slater of the National League of Cities.

All these problems will be considered by Levitan's commission, the other eight members of which will probably not be appointed until early January.

The real debate, however, will take place in Congress, which must decide whether to begin using any new measure of unemployment as the basis for distributing federal money and formulating economic policy.

A decision to do so could have a significant effect on the share of federal dollars many communities receive. For example, if the commission makes the seemingly harmless recommendation that military personnel be included in the labor force (they're currently excluded), Levitan predicts that lawmakers from districts with military installations will be up in arms. As he explains, "If you include the military in a Navy-oriented place like San Diego, you increase the number of employed, decrease their unemployment and San Diego loses millions."

"The trouble with these numbers is that each one of them has a political implication," Levitan says.

Paul Rosenstiel is a specialist on urban unemployment for the Ford Foundation-funded Third Century America project.



New life for full employment

By Mary Eisner Eccles
Congressional Quarterly

WASHINGTON—Leading supporters of the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill have rallied behind a new version endorsed by President Carter, insisting that the revisions have not materially weakened it.

Capping months of sensitive negotiations, Carter Nov. 14 embraced a set of procedures for coordinating government economic policies to reach stated unemployment goals. The revised proposal set five-year targets of 4 percent unemployment overall and 3 percent unemployment among workers aged 20 and over. The jobless rate, now 7 percent for the work force as a whole, has not fallen below 5 percent since 1973.

The new version—like its predecessors—also aimed to guarantee employment to every adult who sought it, using public jobs as a last resort if other methods failed. To meet administration reservations, however, the proposal left the choice of approaches open, and gave the President a chance to revise the numerical goals themselves at a later date.

The chief congressional sponsors, Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif.) and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), followed Carter's announcement with enthusiastic praise for the agreed-upon draft.

"The President and Congress are provided with a more flexible, but no less effective blueprint for achieving the em-

ployment-increasing and inflation-restraining objectives of the bill," the sponsors said in a statement. The revised provisions, they felt, preserved "all of the essential elements" of the measure they had fought for in the 94th Congress.

Effectiveness questioned.

But most initial accounts of the agreement with Carter portrayed it as toothless, concentrating on the new presidential power to modify the targets and the absence of specific job-creation steps for the government to take. Most of what remained, observers suggested, were broad statements of national policy—similar to the Employment Act of 1946—which had proved insufficiently forceful in the past.

Backers quickly sought to dispel such impressions.

The bill "sets a reasonable [unemployment] figure within a reasonable date," said Murray H. Finley, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers union and co-director of an umbrella group—the Full Employment Action Council—formed three years ago to push for such legislation. The proposed targets, he told a press conference Nov. 22, would put to rest the idea that the country should tolerate higher levels of joblessness—such as 6 or 7 percent—or discount the employment problems of groups like women and teenagers.

"No bill is a perfect bill," added Cor-

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THE LEFT

Carrillo at Yale
a fine muddle

By James Aronson

Santiago Carrillo, leader of the Spanish Communist party and a spokesman for what has come to be known as Eurocommunism, has learned first-hand in the last few weeks about the facts of life in the lands of the two Super Powers.

Early last month he went to Moscow, at the invitation of the Soviet government, to speak at the observance of the 60th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. When his turn came to speak, he was denied the podium. He went home immediately.

In mid-November he went to New Haven, at the invitation of Yale university, to speak about Eurocommunism. To do so, he had to cross a picket line set up by Yale's striking dining hall employees and maintenance workers. A furor ensued.

On Thanksgiving Day in New York, in an interview with *IN THESE TIMES*, Carrillo was somewhat bemused by his experiences, which he nonetheless related with even temper and wry humor. His story has been supplemented here by interviews with his American associates, persons involved in the student-faculty strike support committee at Yale, and with Vincent Sirabella, the strike leader. What seems to emerge is the story of a hard-fought strike (the fourth by the same union at Yale in nine years) becoming enmeshed in a web of misunderstanding, suspicion, stubbornness and some political meddling in an international communist dispute—plus some establishment pressure applied to the whole mixture.

Carrillo's American experience had its roots in an invitation from Yale last June to come as a visiting professor under the Chubb Fellowship program. Carrillo accepted. Just before his departure from Madrid, in the second week of November, he received three telegrams in close proximity.

One was a long message from Yale, he said, informing him about the strike, but noting that academic activities and university lectures were proceeding normally. He should keep to his plans.

The second was from Sirabella, business manager of the Federation of University Employees, Local 35, of the Hotel & Restaurant Employees & Bartenders Union, AFL-CIO. His message described the strike of 1,400 workers at Yale and urged Carrillo to cancel his appearance on the campus.

The third was from Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party U.S.A., also urging Carrillo to cancel his visit to Yale.

How to resolve this contradiction? In the first place, Carrillo said, it was his understanding that there had been a tacit agreement between the university and the union that he be allowed to speak without hindrance.

Further, Carrillo said: "Possibly I may have been wrong, but one thing was clear. Yale university had paid for the trip. If I did not speak at Yale, I would not have been able to speak anywhere in the United States (he was scheduled for an 11-day stay, with talks at Harvard and Johns Hopkins). It would be as it was for me in the Soviet Union. I would speak not one word."

What about the Hall telegram? Carrillo said: "Between the Communist Party U.S.A. and my party there are many differences. I could be wrong, but I had the feeling Gus Hall was not enthusiastic about my speaking at Yale. His telegram in fact stimulated me to come."

Carrillo's associates indicated there were raised eyebrows in Madrid over the coincidences of the Hall and Sirabella wires, and the similarity of the messages. But Sirabella, noting the well-known hostility of the AFL-CIO to the Communist party, scoffed at that.

In any case, Carrillo responded neither

What emerges from the visit of Spanish Communist leader Santiago Carrillo to Yale is the story of a hard-fought strike becoming enmeshed in a web of misunderstanding, suspicion, stubbornness and some political meddling in an international dispute—plus establishment pressure to make things worse.

to Hall nor to Sirabella but determined to come and make his decisions on the spot.

The Sunday before his arrival in the U.S., Carrillo said, his associates here were informed that Sirabella, aware that Carrillo wished to make a statement in behalf of the strikers, had agreed that Carrillo should not be prevented from speaking. This word apparently was relayed by a member of the student-faculty support group. But between Sunday evening and Monday night—when Carrillo arrived on the Yale campus, no contract between Carrillo and Sirabella had been established. The Carrillo people say all efforts were unavailing; Sirabella says that's nonsense: "I'm on the picket line 18 hours a day."

Carrillo at Yale.

When Carrillo arrived Monday night, there was no picket line. The next morning, when Carrillo went to a scheduled press conference, there was a big one—and that was where the fireworks began and the division widened. Carrillo had to cross the picket line to get to the press conference and the pickets expressed their feelings vigorously. At the conference Carrillo gave strong support to the strikers; he also made some caustic remarks about some leaders of American labor.

The next morning the *New York Times* report began thus: "Santiago Carrillo, the Spanish Communist Party leader, began a speaking tour of the United States here today by crossing a picket line at Yale and criticizing American labor." The story noted Carrillo's comment that he felt "linked to the labor movement here and with this particular strike at Yale." He was also quoted as saying that "the American labor movement had done nothing to promote democracy in Spain."

That evening Walter Cronkite on the CBS Evening News picked up the theme, saying Carrillo had characterized the American labor movement as "right-wing." He underscored Carrillo's crossing the picket line.

Carrillo told *IN THESE TIMES* that he took special pains to distinguish between "many labor leaders" and his "respect for the American working class and for the strikers at Yale." He said he told the press that in Spain these labor leaders were regarded as being to the right of the Spanish labor movement and even of the present Spanish government.

The New Haven press and television reports, emphasizing Carrillo's support of the Yale strike, seemed to bear out Carrillo's version; but the national press and TV had chosen the *Times*' version.

Back to that Tuesday morning scene.



When Carrillo arrived Monday night at Yale there was no picket line, but the next morning, when he went to a scheduled press conference, there was a big one, and that is where the fireworks started and the divisions widened.

During the press conference, an emissary from Carrillo—the editor of the Spanish Communist party paper *Mundo Obrero*—emerged to seek out Sirabella to tell him that Carrillo wanted to meet with him and seek to come to some solution. This was confirmed by Sirabella, but, he told this interviewer, "It was too late. I did not regard it as a sincere effort. Carrillo by then was obviously embarrassed." Sirabella also said that contact had been sought after the picket line had been set up and before the press conference had begun, but he did not regard this as a "good faith effort."

When the press conference ended, Carrillo emerged for a walking tour of the campus, Sirabella said, surrounded by police. "We gave him hell," Sirabella added, "some in his own language, some in English." Among the epithets, according to other sources, was "son of a whore." One student spat at Carrillo, who commented: "The last time I was spat on was when I came out of prison once, and the fascists were there to greet me."

Views on the labor movement.

On Thanksgiving Day, Carrillo elaborated: "I have been in many strikes, and once was jailed for a year and a half for my role in one. In Spain, all strikes are for liberty. No one would picket a left-wing militant to prevent him from speaking. They would support him because they knew he would support the strike. I cannot accept that concept of the class struggle. I am a European and have a European outlook, and therefore I could not understand that all academic activity was permitted except mine, since I had been invited as a visiting professor."

Sirabella rejected this approach. To him, he said, "the picket line is a sacred thing." It was the line between those who support and "those who divide."

What about the fact that the union had called off its pickets for earlier meetings on the campus of South African freedom proponents and the Feminist Union? That was different, Sirabella said. In both cases the participants had said they would never cross a picket line, and arrangements were made well in advance. As for the Africa conference, Sirabella said, the participants came out of the hall and joined the picket line. Sirabella indicated that something might have been worked out if Carrillo had responded to his wire.

And what about Carrillo's concern about being silenced generally if he cancelled the Yale speech? Sirabella said he was not aware until after the Tuesday

incidents that Yale had financed the trip. If he had known that, and Carrillo had agreed to skip Yale and go on to Harvard and Johns Hopkins, he said, he felt "the money could have been raised. That was no problem."

In fact, at a meeting with the student-faculty strike committee on Wednesday morning, Carrillo had accepted a proposal to move the meeting off campus. A hall had been found—but Yale refused and threatened to cancel the contract with Carrillo if the meeting were moved.

Complicating matters was the appearance on the Tuesday picket line of members of the Spartacist League (one of whom, to Carrillo's puzzlement, held aloft a slogan of the Spanish Anarchists), and members of the Communist Party U.S.A. The Spartacists are an ultra-left group with ties to Trotskyism; the Communist party is opposed to the concept of Eurocommunism.

While there need be nothing unusual for either group to support a strike, the Communists seemed particularly interested in Carrillo as a target: they distributed leaflets at his subsequent speaking engagements denouncing him as a scab. In Carrillo's mind, according to his associates, there rose the suspicion of a link to the cancellation of his speech in Moscow.

Carrillo's lack of familiarity with American labor tradition may have played a part in the Yale tempest (his willingness in conceding possible error in the interview was one such indication). If that were so, Sirabella said, why did his associates not brief him more fully? There is also the possibility the authorities at Yale may have misled Carrillo into believing that there would be no trouble. They, after all, had a large stake in the battle with the union, and any unpleasantness could be to their advantage.

In any case, on Wednesday evening, Nov. 16, Carrillo gave the Chubb lecture as the pickets marched outside. He went from Yale to Harvard, where an unpicketed audience of 1,500 listened to him. It was the biggest crowd, according to faculty members, since the turbulent days of 1969. Carrillo was pleased with his reception there. Then it was on to Baltimore—and finally back to the comparative tranquility of Madrid.

And the Yale dining hall strike—almost forgotten in the heat of this international encounter—goes on.

James Aronson was a founder of the *National Guardian*. He teaches at Hunter College.

THE BORDER

Runaway shops at the Mexican border

By Thomas Angotti
and Belinda Sifford

Liberation News Service

MATAMOROS, MEXICO—Brownsville, Texas is a boom town, part of the fourth fastest-growing metropolitan area in the U.S. It boasts a prosperous business district, fancy new residential communities and luxury tourist facilities.

Just across the Rio Grande River, the Mexican town of Matamoros is also growing by leaps and bounds. But the resemblance ends there. The sprawling "colonias" or slums of Matamoros, with their unpaved roads and ramshackle housing and schools, contrast starkly with modern Brownsville on the other side of the river.

But where the resemblance ends, the relationship barely begins. For the rapid growth of both Brownsville and Matamoros is a result of the same process—the flight of American corporations to the border region, where runaway shops can take advantage of the low wages and compliant government-backed unions in Mexico.

There are 463 runaway shops along the U.S./Mexican border, employing 76,000 workers. Most of the factories, called "maquiladoras," are assembly operations using lots of cheap labor and imported material and components. A numerical breakdown shows 188 electronics firms, 103 in textiles, and clusters of others in food processing, leather goods and toys.

Matamoros, the fastest-growing center for maquiladoras, is a prime example of the role American corporations play in Mexico's "development." Most of the 42 maquiladoras in Matamoros, employing 1,500 people, have twin shops in Brownsville where products are finished, packaged or labelled.

While growth in Matamoros consists of spreading shantytowns strung along dirt roads, Brownsville's booming business district draws half its retail trade from Mexican workers who come across the border to shop.

So even the wages of Mexican workers wind up back in the pockets of American businessmen who run downtown Brownsville. The higher standard of living on the Texas side also attracts the executives from the maquiladoras to make their homes in the U.S.

Little wonder then that cities like Brownsville have vigorous programs to woo twin runaway shops. In fact, the Brownsville Chamber of Commerce's campaign to attract maquiladoras is generally credited for the rapid "development" in Matamoros.

Not much convincing needed.

Not that U.S. corporations take a lot of convincing. They aren't slow to recognize the advantages of low wages and the stability guaranteed by government-controlled trade unions. U.S. and Mexican government tax breaks and favorable legislation specifically designed for plants on the border provide a clincher.

An executive of the Norton Abrasive Company noted in a recent trade publication that the main attraction of the border area is its labor force. He explained that his firm moved there specifically to escape an "unstable labor market" on the East Coast. "Here," he said, "we've found conscientious and easily trained employees..."

Mexican workers interviewed in Matamoros attribute much of this "labor market stability" to the sellout nature of the government-backed Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM). According to Mexican law, all border shops must have contracts with the CTM. But as one mili-

Despite court decisions
There are 463 runaway shops along the U.S./Mexican border, employing 76,000 workers. Most of the factories, called "maquiladoras," are assembly operations using lots of cheap labor and imported material

tant told us, the union "charros" or bosses "work hand in hand with the employers. They are appointed by the government and always try to mediate disputes."

A worker at the huge Electro Parte factory, owned by the Zenith Corporation, agreed. "There have always been protests and strikes, but the union tries to mediate them. If you don't agree with a wage offer and the union bosses accept it, there's nothing you can do about it. If you go against the union bosses, you might as well forget about your job."

Adding to the difficulties of organizing is the threat that companies are quite prepared to relocate again if the "labor market stability" doesn't live up to expectations. Since they are labor intensive and have little heavy machinery, the maquiladoras can easily pack up and move on. Because of militant labor protest in Laredo, another border town, American companies have been moving from there to Taiwan and Hong Kong.

"A major problem," one organizer said, "is that the companies can just pick up and leave when the workers protest as they did in Laredo. It is a very difficult situation, and we have to use delicate and well-timed tactics."



Fully 85 percent of maquiladora workers are young, single women between the ages of 16 and 22. Management claims that women are more agile and patient, giving them some sort of inherent skill for assembly work.

But experienced workers suggest another reason for corporate hiring policies. Given the strong influence of the church and traditional values in the community, the mainly male management and union bosses feel they can most easily control women with little experience in trade union or political activity.

Once they are hired, maquiladora workers find that the companies often try to increase production by setting quotas and constantly raising them to higher levels. "They started with 90, then 95, 100 and finally 113," one worker told us. "Maybe we could have produced everything they asked for, but it is too much. The tension on the line is incredible."

While production climbs, wages actually shrink. When Mexico devalued its currency last year, American companies wound up paying only about half as much as before in wages. Since then, wages for Mexican workers have increased

23 percent, while the cost of living went up 45 percent.

In addition, workers point out that the rapid pace of work, noise and poor ventilation add up to a prescription for physical exhaustion. "We were working near the ovens and standing right next to each other and couldn't hear what we were saying," an Electro Partes worker stated. "When I was in the repair section, I never lost my cough."

The maquiladoras are made possible and profitable by provisions of the U.S. Tariff Code, passed in 1963, which limits the tariff paid on reimported items to the "value added" during the assembly process.

On the Mexican side, runaways are attracted by the provisions of the Border Industrialization Program, initiated in 1965 by then President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz. Under this program, companies operating within the 12-mile deep border area may be 100 percent foreign-owned, whereas elsewhere a majority of the stock must be held by Mexicans.

Maquiladoras also receive benefits from the Mexican states along the border, as they compete for business by offering tax breaks and subsidized services such as water and sewers.

LABOR

Iron miner's under pressure to settle

By David Moberg

Despite economic pressures from their four-month strike and strong encouragement by United Steelworkers union international representatives to settle, 10 of the 15 iron ore locals in the Minnesota-Michigan mining country are holding out against a compromise settlement that they regard as inadequate.

Five locals, representing about 5,000 of the 16,000 strikers, voted in late November to accept the package that Steelworkers president Lloyd McBride had negotiated without involvement of the bargaining committee or District 33 president Linus Wampler.

After the 80-member bargaining committee rejected the offer (IN THESE TIMES, Nov. 23), USW officials decided to take it to each individual local.

Local news media in upper Michigan saturated the area with reports that the local votes were a "mere formality," and just before the voting "the international and the companies had a live radio program in which they said it was a great package," Harvey Miron, a bargaining committee member at the Republic, Mich., mine of Cleveland Cliffs, said. Some foremen called miners to report to work before the balloting, hoping to sway the vote.

The central issue was the ore miners' demand for incentive pay comparable to that earned by steel mill workers. The McBride package provides for incentive pay at about two-thirds the mill rate, starting in November 1979, and with only three-fourths of workers assured of coverage. Since the miners will lose their current attendance bonus, they will gain only roughly 26 cents an hour once the incentive starts, Wampler said.

The remaining locals want the incentive to start August 1978 and to cover everyone. One local at Eveleth, Minn., voted nearly two-to-one against the compromise. Other local committees have not even called for a vote. Wampler called the decision to bypass the bargaining committee "strange and curious" but did not accuse McBride of "playing politics," even though Wampler and the ore miners have not been McBride supporters.

Miron said that Cleveland Cliffs miners debated the local contract for five hours, complaining that they did not have sufficient information and that some important local issues had been conceded. Although he and a third of his local rejected the settlement, Miron argues that "the incentive issue is not all bad. It was a major victory. In the future people will retire under a better pension, with better

holiday pay, overtime and general wage increases.

It's a turning point, and I'm definitely not sorry one bit for striking, but I'd rather have had another chance to go back to the bargaining table."

Ore miners want to get everything they can this time to make up for neglect of their demands in the past. Also, many fear that they may not get to strike again.

In a side agreement covering the whole industry, McBride and the steel companies said that they will submit any future dispute over what constitutes a "local issue" to arbitration. Under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which was extended through 1980, steel industry workers can only strike on local issues. Steel executives have claimed that the ore miners' incentive demands were not local, and therefore the strike was illegal.

The ten remaining locals were still talking last week with corporate representatives, coordinated by the powerful and hard-nosed United States Steel. Although ore stockpiles are dropping and soon the Great Lakes will be closed to shipping, the company appears adamant. But the Minnesota miners have shown determined resistance as well, making the continuation of the strike a very strong possibility.

CRIME & PUNISHMENT

Making juries representative

By Mike Yuen
Pacific News Service

Two young men get into an argument at a party. One reaches into his hip pocket. The other attacks immediately, and is subsequently arrested and charged with assault. At his trial, he pleads self-defense, claiming that the first man was reaching for a knife. Unless there are members of his peer group on the jury—in this case low-income blacks—it is unlikely that his story will be understood.

"In the ghetto, when someone reaches into his pocket during an argument," says San Francisco criminal attorney Charles Garry, "it's assumed he's going for a knife. People from the silk-stocking district wouldn't understand that."

A Yale law student working in a New Haven court makes a similar observation. "The problem," he says, "is that most defendants come from the inner city, while most jurors come from the suburbs. They can't understand what the defendant has been through. It's a culture shock."

"The composition of a jury," contends University of Chicago law professor and jury expert Hans Zeisel, "has as much to do with the outcome of a trial as does the evidence."

Despite Supreme Court decisions mandating that juries be drawn from a broad, representative cross-section of the community, most juries are still predominantly white, middle-aged and middle class. On the other hand, a high percentage of criminal defendants are poor and come from minority groups.

Voting lists inadequate.

Minorities and the poor are underrepresented in jury pools because of the way jurors are chosen—primarily from voter registration lists. That system is now under attack from lawyers and legal experts who contend jurors must be selected from other lists as well.

Jon Van Dyke, a professor at Hastings College of Law in San Francisco, just completed a national study on jury selection procedures. "It can be demonstrated unequivocally," his study concludes, "that the exclusive use of the voter list skews the jury toward some sectors of society."

Philadelphia attorney and jury expert David Kairys, writing in the *California Law Journal*, maintains that the "race and class" bias of jury pools in large urban areas could be eliminated by simply drawing from four lists: voter registration, licensed drivers, welfare recipients and the unemployed.

Kairys and two statisticians at Carnegie-Mellon University have developed a method that would eliminate duplications on the multiple source lists at a cost of only \$30.

Voter registration lists, Kairys pointed out, are no longer representative of a cross-section of the community because large segments of the population do not bother to register or vote anymore.

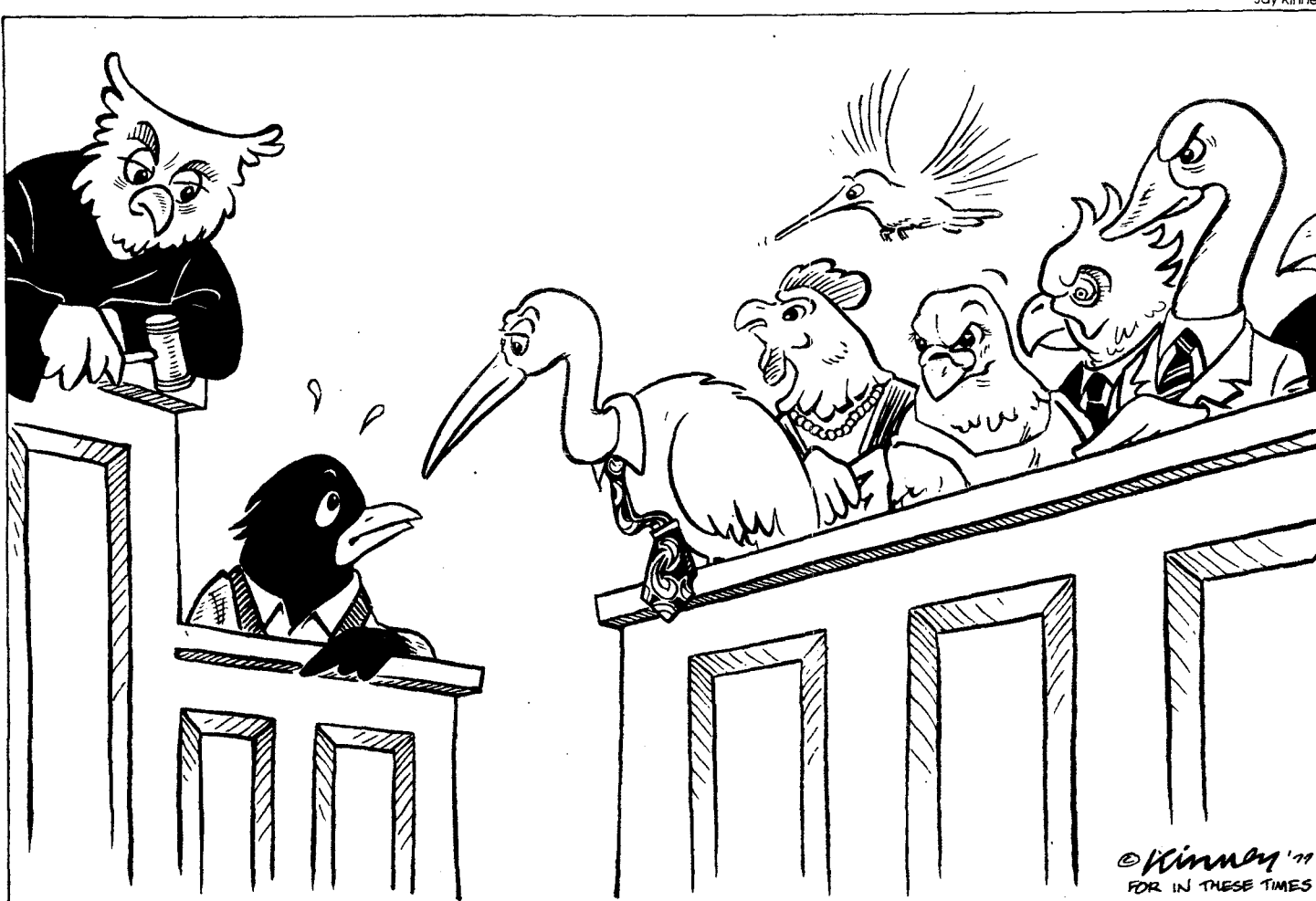
Although the 1963 Federal Jury Selection Act requires that other sources be used, when necessary, to insure representative jury pools, only two out of 94 federal districts now use alternative sources to supplement voter lists.

Five states—Colorado, Idaho, Indiana, Mississippi and North Dakota—have adopted the Uniform Jury Selection and Service Act, which makes the use of multiple lists mandatory.

Scattered through the remaining 45 states, only 15 counties now use multiple lists, while hundreds of counties continue to rely on the voter registration rolls alone.

Presumption of innocence.

Census Bureau studies show that approximately 40 percent of the population is not represented on voter registration lists in New York, California, Texas, Florida, North Carolina and Virginia. Higher levels of registration and voting are associated with white males, aged 35-64, who work as white-collar professionals and earn more than \$10,000 a year.



Despite court decisions mandating representative juries, most are still predominantly white, middle-aged and middle class. Defendants, on the other hand, are primarily poor as members of minority groups.

Conversely, the bureau found that women, blacks, Hispanics, young people (18-34), old people (over 65), those with incomes below \$5,000 and people in unskilled occupations were less likely to vote.

Beth Bonora of the California-based National Jury Project believes the use of multiple source lists will bring more diverse attitudes, values and social experiences into the jury box, and will permit evidence to be analyzed from several viewpoints.

"People who don't vote are more alienated," she says. "They don't think voting will make a whole lot of difference. They might be the same people who would be skeptical about police testimony, or about the criminal justice system."

The National Jury Project has also concluded that many jurors disregard the judicial instruction on the "presumption of innocence"—that a defendant is presumed innocent until proven guilty.

In the average case, surveys show, about 60 percent of potential jurors say

they would ignore such instructions from the judge. In highly publicized cases, about 80 percent replied they would ignore the instruction.

This gives the prosecution a heavy built-in advantage, and often requires that defendants prove their innocence, something that by law they are not obligated to do.

Advocates of a change in the jury selection system claim that, by drawing from several different lists, there will be fewer jurors in the pool with this built-in bias against defendants.

Opposition from jury commissions

The strongest opposition to changing the jury selection system has come from county clerks and jury commissioners who feel comfortable with the old process. They argue that the voter lists are still representative, and the addition of other lists would be "too costly" and "a waste of the taxpayers' money."

But their position may be eroding under an avalanche of court suits, challenging

the appropriateness of the voter lists as the sole source of jurors.

This year, the California Supreme Court ruled that "official compilers of jury lists may drift into discrimination by not taking affirmative action to prevent it," implying that the voter lists may no longer represent a community cross-section.

And in a recent decision that startled many, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the conviction of a Louisiana man because there were no women on the jury that convicted him.

Ruling that Billy J. Taylor did not receive a fair trial, the high court said that "the purpose of the jury is to guard against the exercise of arbitrary power—to make available the common sense judgment of the community..." A jury can't fulfill that role, the court said, if it is selected from a pool containing only certain segments of the population.

Mike Yuen is a Texas-based free-lance writer.

THE MILITARY

Coalition organizes against Senate bill

Designed to prohibit military unions, S-274 is so broad that it would prohibit almost any kind of activity.

By Tod Ensign
and Michael Uhl

Seven national organizations engaged in protecting the legal and economic rights of American servicemembers have formed a coalition to fight a bill (S-274) that they believe would abridge the Constitutional rights of both GIs and their civilian supporters.

The Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Center for

National Security Studies, CCCO (Philadelphia), Citizen Soldier, *Enlisted Times* newspaper, the National Lawyers Guild, and the national president of the Association of Civilian (Guard) Technicians, have banded together in an effort to defeat the legislation in the House of Representatives.

Ostensibly designed "to prohibit the unionization of the armed forces," S-274 so broadly defines "labor organizations" that any group that assists individual soldiers with their grievances could be subjected to criminal prosecution. If S-274 becomes law, the coalition argues, such traditional GI organizing activities as discharge counselling, paralegal representation *vis a vis* administrative boards, not to mention the overt political associations formed by GIs and civilians during the Vietnam war, will become illegal. In addition, the mere advocacy of any collec-

tive action or self-organization for GIs would be outlawed.

Initial activities of the coalition include polling members of Congress as to their attitudes on this legislation. Few Representatives seem to have any understanding of the issues raised by the bill. Educational work will be combined with lobbying in the weeks ahead to identify potential allies.

In January the coalition plans a briefing for congressional staff members. Constitutional law experts and GI organizers will present arguments against the legislation. A campaign to mobilize the nation's law professors against S-274 is also being launched.

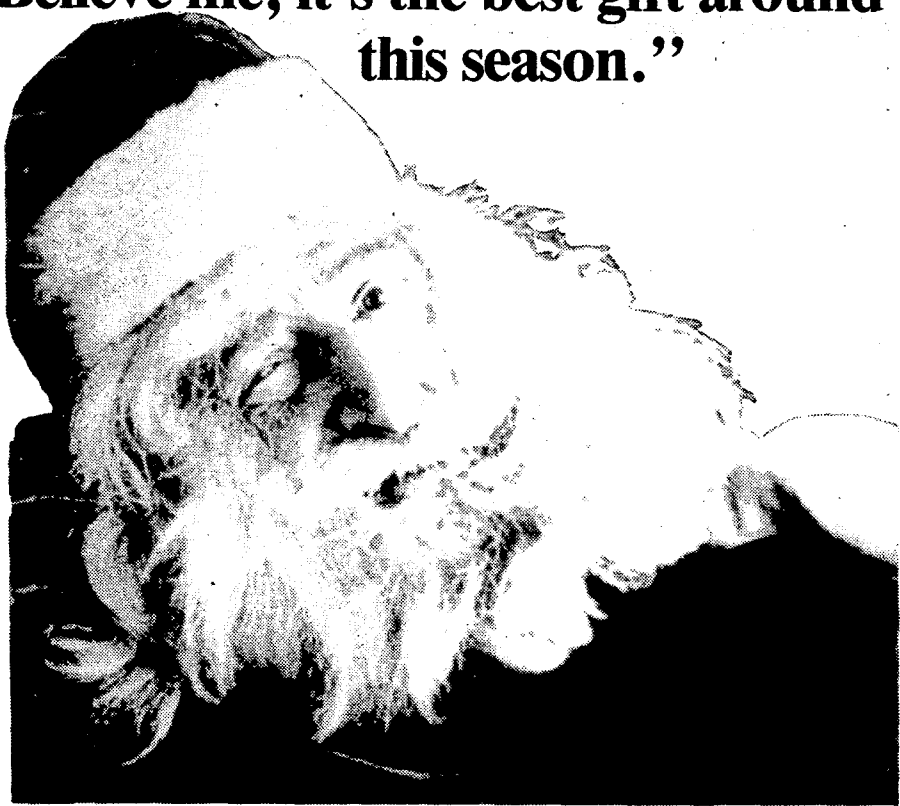
The coalition has established national offices at 600 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE, Washington, DC 20003.

Tod Ensign and Michael Uhl work with *Citizen Soldier*.



After the victory of district election proponents in August, everyone expected some changes in the November elections. The results, however, were disappointing; it looks as if the same interests will predominate.

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ELECTIONS

No left turn in San Francisco

By Anne Farrar

SAN FRANCISCO—The most remarkable thing about the November elections here was the significant shift to the left in the campaign issues raised by most of the candidates.

The second most remarkable thing was the outcome. Contrary to the expectations of politicians and observers alike, no new coalition of labor and neighborhood forces controlled the outcome, and the voters of the city by the Golden Gate did not move to the left.

Of the 11 new supervisors elected by district, seven are conservatives. None of the serious left candidates made it. Liberals were also clearly defeated in city-wide races for City Attorney and City Treasurer.

Three unusual referenda for approval of union demands for city employees had the usual outcome—the electors reaffirmed four to one their recent votes against city workers and the growing anti-labor sentiment in this once solid labor town.

A ballot issue to ban billboards solidly opposed by all of labor and downtown business was trounced. And although endorsed by many of the candidates and a broad spectrum of forces, a resolution to save the now famous International Hotel from demolition and convert it to public housing was defeated nearly two to one.

In August a massive grass roots campaign of labor, both rank and file and leadership, neighborhood activists, and a variety of leftists had won its second ballot fight in less than a year for district election of supervisors.

The explicit aim of district elections was to loosen the hold of the downtown corporations on city politics. The old Board of Supervisors, elected at large, would be thrown out and the field would be opened to new members responsible to the voters of each district, proponents argued.

The impetus for district elections came initially from neighborhood activists, brought together in the past five years by the leftist Citizens for Representative Government (CRG). Labor had joined the coalition, at first reluctantly and then wholeheartedly, as they began to acknowledge the erosion of their long-time partnership with downtown big business.

But the coalition didn't hold up. Forced to rewin what they had just won ten months before, district election proponents were forced to put off building coalitions in the new districts. Then, when district elections came, old and new divisions among blacks, Chicanos, gays, liberals and labor, as well as among leftists reappeared as 124 candidates fought for 11 supervisor seats.

Traditional labor and Democratic alliances broke apart in many districts when rank and file labor, labor leadership and Democratic endorsements divided three ways. The gay Alice B. Toklas Democratic Club, a significant power in city politics, could not even agree to endorse any of the gay candidates for District 5, the Haight-Ashbury/Castro/Noe Valley area where a very high proportion of voters are gay.

District election proponents had promised new faces, but all six of the incumbents who ran from a district were returned to the board.

Only one can be expected to reflect a break with the traditional downtown domination of the city. Gordon Lau, the first Chinese-American elected to the board, was appointed just two months before the election by Mayor George Moscone who, like everyone else, was leaning left with the expectations for November.

Along with the incumbents, two of the newly elected supervisors also had wide name recognition because of their prior campaigns for public office.

In District-5 gay merchant Harvey Milk won a clear victory as he campaigned for a halt to “Manhattanization” of downtown and expanded opportunities for gays. Milk had run as a gay candidate in three prior elections, twice for supervisor and once for State Assembly.

Another district winner, Carol Ruth Silver, like Milk, had been a major candidate in the past. When she ran for District Attorney in 1975 she represented the great left-liberal hope. As a measure of the shift to the left in 1977, the *Progress*, a local conservative newspaper, was forced to endorse Silver against the more left Gary Borvice of La Raza en Accion Local.

Silver's campaign focused more on dirty streets than on social issues but she carried her past credentials as a strong liberal along with a new feminist slant, having recently founded a new women's savings and loan.

Silver's opponent, Borvice, was backed by Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) and the CRG group. But Borvice had several handicaps.

Although the Mission District is believed to be a Latino district and although La Raza had run an intensive voter registration program for many months, most voters are Anglo. Many Latinos are not citizens and other Latino candidates absorbed some of Borvice's potential vote.

In addition, Borvice's past identification with an effort to keep a gay women's bar out of the Mission could not entirely be erased by endorsements from a few gay groups. Support from white women was significant in Silver's victory, as was the gay and white liberal vote.

Lau, Milk and Silver, though not strictly new faces in San Francisco politics, offer some hope that the new board will shift away from a near unanimous support for the programs of downtown business. A possible ally for these three is Ella Hill Hutch, the first black woman to be elected to the board.

The remaining two new supervisors are more conservative than the re-elected incumbents. Dan White, a 31-year-old fireman won in District 8, predominantly white, blue-collar working class area. White defeated a former National Organization of Women (NOW) activist as well as the labor candidate Bob Barnes.

While a conservative electorate clearly backed White, the conservative Lee Dolson's election with only 29 percent of the vote in the Ninth district must be attributed to CED candidate Michael Nolan. Divisions within the left clearly elected Dolson over second-running radical black activist Bob Covington.

As one of CRG's very few non-white members, Covington's connections had been essential in building the winning district election coalition. Covington won little traditional backing, but he did win the endorsement of the Transport Workers and the Laborer's union.

Nolan, a former new leftist, manager of a local counter-culture outdoor juggling and comedy group, and member of CED, received Democratic party backing and endorsement of the SEIU. His 15 percent in the election came from white liberals and a heavy concentration of white leftists in the Bernal Heights section of the district; he won almost no support in the predominantly black Inglewood neighborhood that makes up about a fourth of the Ninth district.

Covington's 20 percent vote is a testimony to the skilled canvassing operation of the CRB. Covington's and CRG's uncompromising support for a radical district platform—developed earlier in the course of the district election fight—was evidence that expectations that San Francisco voters might move left were not entirely incorrect.

Anne Farrar is an activist in San Francisco.

IN THE WORLD

FRANCE

French extradite German lawyer

Rosette Coryell

By Diana Johnstone.
PARIS—On the night of Nov. 16, the French government hastily packed West German lawyer Klaus Croissant across the border, before his attorneys could appeal a court decision to accept Bonn's request to extradite him. Hours later, Croissant was locked in Stuttgart's Stammheim prison, where his late client Andreas Baader died, officially a suicide, of a bullet fired into the back of his head just four weeks before.

Bonn was happy. But Paris' decision, hailed across the Rhine as a blow against "international terrorism," is only too likely to contribute to violence by discrediting democratic safeguards. By exporting Croissant, France risks importing West Germany's vicious circle of oppression and terrorism, many French civil libertarians fear.

Attack on French opinion.

West Germany argued it should get Croissant because it is a democratic country that can be trusted to be fair. Even if this were so (and there are strong doubts), many people remember a different past, and fear a different future.

With an aggressive new self-righteousness based on its sense of being unjustly persecuted by the "terrorists" of the Red Army Fraction (RAF), West Germany is today demanding that its legal and security standards be adopted in the rest of Western Europe to protect its own "democratic order," apparently so fragile that it can be "endangered" by a group with no perspective other than to scare the system into showing that it is not democratic after all.

In the weeks just after Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan Carl Raspe died in Stammheim prison, the West German press, led by the Axel Springer empire, stepped up its campaign against the "anti-German" sentiments of the French left, intelligentsia and press, accused of sympathizing with terrorists. The newspaper *Le Monde*, which opens its columns to an extraordinary range of "free opinions"—more varied, no doubt, than could readily be found in the Bundesrepublik and thus exotic—has been viciously attacked since it published a pro-terrorist essay by writer Jean Genet. The far more numerous and influential articles defending the Bonn government written by *Le Monde's* own editorial staff have been ignored by its West German critics to a point that leaves no doubt of a desire to put France on the defensive and demand that it "prove" its opposition to terrorism.

The concentration on France is all the more surprising in that most of the French press, including *Le Monde*, reported the Stammheim "suicides" with a credulity by no means matched in Italy, where it would be hard to find anyone, regardless of political opinion, able to believe that efficient Germany's most closely guarded prisoners had squirreled away a small arsenal in their cells and then all "committed suicide" at once. Italians are too distrustful of power to believe a story like that.

Recalling that right-wingers had been clamoring to "execute" RAF members serving prison sentences in reprisal against kidnappings and hijackings committed by their comrades, a lot of people suspect that some lower-level officials with access to the prison (run by the Christian Democratic administration of Baden-Württemberg, not the federal government headed by Social Democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt) took things into their own hands and went ahead with the "executions" of Baader, Ensslin and Raspe, sure of being covered—and even rewarded—by superiors.

According to this theory, even Schmidt



As court session on Klaus Croissant's extradition opens, French lawyers demonstrate on the steps outside, holding cards with the names of West German colleagues under indictment. When they entered the courthouse later, the police attacked them.

would never dare admit a suspicion that the "suicides" were murder, for fear of the dread accusation of "sympathizing with terrorists." Thus Schmidt himself could be drawn against his will into a tacit complicity with his political enemies on the far right, who are ready to use every means to keep pressuring him further to restrict civil liberties in West Germany.

Questionable legality.

No one has any proof for such hypotheses, of course, but to Latins less respectful of order and authority than Germans, less ready to believe official versions of anything, they are rather more plausible than the almost diabolical powers attributed to Baader to explain his feat of committing a suicide that looks just like murder.

But the French, half Latin and half Germanic, were less skeptical than the Italians, yet France has been the target of offended Teutonic *amour-propre*. Why?

Perhaps it is because France has a law, and tradition, of political asylum that the West German interests behind the Springer press are particularly anxious to demolish.

After Croissant's extradition, *Die Welt*, flagship of the Springer press fleet, congratulated the French court for its courage in braving Jean-Paul Sartre. But in France, the "courage" involved in pleasing the economic giant of Europe was less apparent. Even the right-wing newspaper *Aurore* criticized Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's government for shipping out Croissant in the middle of the night, before his attorneys were able to exhaust legal recourse.

As for the legality of the decision, it was questionable enough to justify judicial review by the Council of State, empowered to decide on constitutional questions. In demanding extradition, West Germany had accused Croissant of just about every crime imaginable or unimaginable, offering no evidence. The French court threw out all the charges but

the minor one of aiding and abetting his clients by passing information between them.

Solomon or Pontius Pilate at work? The small charge was enough to deliver Croissant to the Germans, with the admonition not to violate the 1951 Franco-German convention by trying him for any of the charges rejected by the French court.

The court refused to consider the possibly political nature of the accusations against Croissant, ruling that the 1951 convention made no mention of a 1927 French law banning extradition for political motives. But the French law is in the books, and was confirmed just last June 24 by the Council of State, which reversed an earlier extradition to Spain. The Council of State said the 1927 law held, even if not mentioned in the bilateral treaty. Thus Croissant's lawyers had a good chance of winning their appeal to the Council of State—if they had been allowed to make it.

Violence is criminal.

The French law profession is alarmed by the threats to the right of the defense implied in the Croissant case. Certainly Croissant sympathized, and perhaps too much, with his clients, but that is normal in political cases, French lawyers say, recalling that during the Algerian war, lawyers for "extremists" on both sides sympathized with their clients and no doubt passed information between those in prison and those on the outside. The only alternative, as is being done in West Germany, with laws intruding on, censoring, limiting and eventually even eliminating contacts between accused "terrorists" and their lawyers.

The extradition alarms defenders of the right to political asylum who see in it a *de facto* application of the controversial Strasbourg Convention "on the Repression of Terrorism" adopted a year ago by the Council of Europe. It has not yet been ratified by France, where many

jurists condemn it as unconstitutional.

The Convention states that certain acts *cannot* be considered political crimes, thus making those plausibly charged with them ineligible for political asylum.

Anglo-Saxons and Germans, unaccustomed to taking motives into consideration and making a distinction—albeit hard to define—between political and non-political crimes, probably do not readily grasp that the imposition of this essentially German conception of "violence" as simply "criminal" (unless committed by authorized personnel) amounts to a serious infringement on Latin political culture, human rights and sensibility. The convention, promoted for some time by the Bonn government in its crusade against "terrorism," is a subtle, perhaps unconscious, but significant act of German cultural imperialism in Western Europe.

South Americanization.

The Convention pretends to be directed against terrorism, and the first of the acts made automatically "non-political" are, of course, airplane hijacking and other eminently unpopular forms of conduct. But farther along, the text gets down to everyday life. After the dramatic crimes listed in Article 1, Article 2 adds casually that the same will apply to "any serious act against property" when it has "created a collective danger to persons," as well as to an *accomplice* of someone who commits or *tries* to commit such an infraction.

This language is vague and general enough to provide a pretext for criminalizing practically anyone seeking political asylum, critics of the Convention maintain.

Socialist Jean-pierre Chevenement commented: "The extradition of Klaus Croissant demonstrates a submission, scarcely surprising on the part of Mr. Barre's government, to the requirements of German

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CARIBBEAN

G&W big screen tie with Dominicans

By Bob Gottlieb
and Barbara Zheutlin

If they had taken more production stills of William Friedkin's \$20-million production of *Sorcerer*, a Paramount/Universal remake of the old French classic *Wages of Fear*, you might have been able to see in the background of one of them a group of uniformed men standing around, some carrying submachine guns, all of them armed. They would not be members of the cast or crew. They would be members of the Dominican Republic's armed forces, sent in by the government to keep the peace and make sure the natives remain friendly, or at least subdued.

At the head of command of the 30 or so troops was Colonel Trifilio Estevez from the Army and Major Frank Alba from the Air Force. They were emissaries from the government of President Joaquin Balaguer, who is a close friend and ally of Charles Bluhdorn, chairman of the board of Gulf and Western, the corporate parent of Paramount Pictures.

United Fruit of the '70s.

The Gulf and Western/Bluhdorn/Balaguer relationship dates back to 1967 when Gulf and Western purchased the South Puerto Rico Sugar Company, a major sugar producer which owned nearly 300,000 acres in the Dominican Republic at La Romana. Bluhdorn was particularly concerned with the dangers—as Gulf and Western perceived them—of social revolution in the country, and he undertook the purchase of South Puerto Rico Sugar knowing that Lyndon Johnson would likely intervene if trouble developed. Bluhdorn brought in a team of Cuban exiles, headed by former Batista strongman Teobaldo Rosell, to break the back of the local sugar union at Romana, replace it with Gulf and Western's own company union, and provide overall supervision of the plantation.

The Gulf and Western chairman immediately developed close ties with Dominican President Joaquin Balaguer who had come into power after the 1965 American invasion. Satisfactory arrangements were made concerning the conditions for reinvestment of profits made in the Dominican Republic as well as opening up of the country for further foreign commercial and industrial penetration.

Gulf and Western used its massive profits from La Romana to construct a large-scale tourist complex of hotels, resorts, and luxury estates complete with golf courses, tennis courts, and their own jet strips. It also organized an "industrial free zone in Santo Domingo": a place for foreign companies to set up plants with extremely favorable tax breaks.

Gulf and Western actively promoted the industrial free zone, encouraging U.S. companies to set up plants, and bringing several of its own subsidiaries such as Consolidated Cigar into the zone. Gulf and Western manages the zone, and boasts of the zone's attractive supply of low-cost, non-union labor.

Gulf and Western's penetration into the Dominican economy, politics, and culture has become extremely widespread. It is the largest foreign employer (and the largest U.S. employer in Latin America). Aside from sugar, it has interests in cattle, cement and motion pictures. It organized a local film production company, Cinema Dominicana, and its partially owned foreign distribution outlet, Cinema International Corporation, has an office in Santo Domingo.

When Gulf and Western began to expand into financing through the partial acquisition of a private investment bank that in turn began to penetrate other locally-owned Dominican companies through loans and equity participation, enormous opposition emerged, forcing Gulf and Western to divest some of its interest. By 1977, Gulf and Western had become the embodiment of Yankee dominance—the "United Fruit of the '70s," as one Gulf and Western observer remarked.



Gulf and Western is very big in the Dominican Republic, and chair Bluhdorn is very close to dictator Balaguer. *Sorcerer* fell into his hands... Bluhdorn knew where to shoot it.

Polo and yachts.

While Gulf and Western became the Island's number one foreign investor, Dominican President Balaguer tightened his control over the country. The trade union movement was effectively dismantled and the opposition parties hindered at every turn. "Change seems inevitable," the head of the Senate's Foreign Relations committee staff said back in 1971, "and it is likely to be more radical—and possibly more violent—for having been postponed." But Balaguer holds on, consolidating his power with increasing U.S. aid, foreign investments, a beefed up military, and disruption of any oppositional movements.

Bluhdorn is personally committed not just to Gulf and Western's presence on the Island and support for Balaguer, but he is constantly on the lookout for ways to boost his company investment and the Dominican regime's stability. He frequently spends weekends at his Dominican home and often brings out Gulf and Western executives (including Paramount officials) to luxuriate in the surroundings.

One Paramount official, President Michael Eisner, was astounded by what he saw on his first trip out. "It's wonderfully lavish," Eisner comments. "Why, they play polo and they have yachts and boats and it's unbelievable. I was shocked, because the Dominican Republic...well, I thought; it's certainly not like Martinique or Jamaica—all those islands that sound like the big time—but the Dominican Republic. It's absolutely superb. I was shocked. And Charlie Bluhdorn loves it because he built this thing from scratch."

One of the ways that Bluhdorn felt he could help his Dominican Republic relations was by using the Dominican Republic as a location for Paramount productions. When Universal Pictures decided to unload *Sorcerer* because the Friedkin production began jumping in costs, Bluhdorn saw a major opportunity to combine

his Dominican needs with a possible "hot" film property. Bluhdorn offered to go in 50/50 on costs under the rubric of the Paramount/Universal foreign distribution company, Cinema International Corporation, if Friedkin and Universal looked into the Dominican Republic as a location for several crucial sequences.

Armed soldiers.

The terms were worked out and Dominican sites were located. Shooting in the Dominican Republic began in May 1976 and lasted into December. There were numerous difficulties and tensions that permeated the production such as the famous bridge sequence where, despite local assurances, a hoped-for rainfall to help create torrential waters never materialized. The locations were all based in the countryside, but occasionally cast and crew would make their way into Santo Domingo to stay at the Gulf and Western-owned hotel.

Though some of the crew found conditions pleasant and agreeable and admired the enormous Gulf and Western influence, others were disheartened by the scenes around them. "When there's such poverty around you," one Friedkin assistant recalls, "it's incredibly depressing... It's a police state, a dictatorship. Every time you turned around all you'd see was armed soldiers. That in itself was frightening."

All the *Sorcerer* personnel were impressed with the Gulf and Western clout. "If there were ever any problems," one production man explains, "we'd just call New York." Why? "Well, because what I know of Gulf and Western, it's their island."

The Dominican government was always quick to help. It provided from 20 to 30 armed soldiers with two high-ranking officers every day that the *Sorcerer* group stayed in the Dominican Republic. Payments were made by Gulf and Western, both for food and upkeep for

the soldiers and to a township or community whenever the company entered a particular location. ("We would use their houses and do other things that were generally disruptive, so we'd make donations to make the whole thing more palatable," says one crew member.)

And indeed, the peace was kept. "When the townspeople saw the uniform," states the same crew members, "they knew it was the government." Still, there were signs—beyond the visible poverty—of unease. Because of the hard-to-get-to locations the company frequently used helicopters to get from place to place. But after 7 pm or so all helicopter use had to cease because of an island-wide curfew. Further, whenever *El Presidente* was in the air flying in his plane or helicopter, the *Sorcerer* copter was grounded, as were all other planes on the island. In other words, nothing flew—and therefore nothing presumably could launch an attack—while Balaguer was in the air.

Havana of the '70s.

Despite the numerous location problems and internal difficulties, Bluhdorn and Gulf and Western clearly were pleased with the film's use of the island. Gulf and Western's local cinema company, Cinema Dominicana, was extensively utilized. American dollars poured into the island. Despite some feelings amongst the crew about a police state atmosphere, others strongly defended Gulf and Western on the island. "Whenever there's a big brother, there's a certain resentment," comments a Friedkin assistant. "Yes, we heard of dissension, but it's a developing country and Gulf and Western after all plows back its money into development. There will always be discontents. To criticize is one thing; to improve is another."

The *Sorcerer* experiment with Dominican locations for Paramount is neither the first nor will it be the last attempt by Gulf and Western to proselytize for their

Continued on next page.

GREAT BRITAIN

Firemen's strike puts torch to Labour wage limit

The Civil Defense has been sent in to help. But though trained to cope with nuclear war, they've had no luck fighting fires.

By Mervyn Jones
LONDON—The strike by British firemen that began Nov. 14 is the first major showdown between the unions and a government determined to limit all wage increases to a 10 percent ceiling. The Fire Brigades Union is a strong organization maintaining a solid union shop, but has never called an all-out national strike in its 50 year history. The decision to take strike action, reached at a delegate conference, indicates the strong resentment of men doing a skilled and dangerous job for a meager wage.

Firemen's pay was for many years pegged to parity with that of the police, but in the past decade this tradition has been abandoned; thanks to high-pressure lobbying, the police have been able to push ahead. A fully trained fireman with five years' service now earns 65 pounds (\$120) a week before tax, a notch below average industrial earnings. Many groups, such as bus drivers, are better paid. The working week is 48 hours before payment of overtime (for most workers it is 40 or 42). The FBU is now demanding a 30 percent raise. The employers—strictly speaking the local authorities, in effect the government—refuse to grant more than 10 percent.

Can't find fire hydrants.

When the strike became inevitable, the government decided to mobilize Civil Defense fire-fighting equipment manned by troops. Though supposed in theory to cope with nuclear war, the CD force has turned out to be utterly inadequate for the ordinary run of fires. The engines, produced in 1950 and mothballed ever since, have no modern equipment—for instance, they use only water and not foam—and press pictures remind us of old-style fire-fighting as depicted in children's books. The soldiers are unfamiliar with city streets and often can't find the hydrants. Where a fire would normally attract three modern engines arriving within five minutes, it now burns for 20 minutes before one antiquated engine is on the scene.

Some sections of the press have launched attacks on the firemen, described as heartless and irresponsible, which reach a new low in bias. They are waiting, it seems clear, for a death that can be clearly ascribed to the strike.

Happily, as I write, no such death has occurred. Union leaders have wisely allowed members to use their own initiative in emergencies. On several occasions strikers have quit the picket lines to help the soldiers where life was in danger, notably in helping to rescue patients in a hospital blaze. But the Army teams are on their own when only property is at stake.

So far the most destructive fire has been in a large modern power station, starting in a cable duct in the turbine hall. Local firemen say that they could have killed the fire in an hour. It defeated the CD equipment and burned for two days; the power station will be out of action for at least a year and the repair cost will be immense. Other fires in factories and warehouses have similarly got out of con-

trol and the total loss of property runs into millions of pounds. The despair in insurance offices is easy to imagine.

Tempers have so far remained cool, the firemen feeling nothing but sympathy for the unfortunate soldiers. There are signs, however, of anger at some alleged underhand tricks. At one London station, firemen who had left the picket line to rescue a girl trapped in an elevator returned to find items of modern equipment removed from the station.

Astonished by support.

Tory spokesmen and Tory newspapers are demanding that the troops should be empowered to enter the fire stations, by force if necessary, and bring out the modern engines. Home Secretary Merlyn Rees, the man responsible for government strategy, has refused this demand on the grounds that it would exacerbate the dispute. He is also advised that such action would be pointless, since sophisticated equipment can be used only by fully-trained professionals. The Tories, however, have an obvious political need to find something to say other than simply backing the government.

FBU men have been genuinely astonished by the sympathy they are receiving from the public. It seems that many ordinary people have suddenly recognized the debt they owe to men whom they normally take for granted. Fire stations are adorned with large banners—"NERO REES FIDDLES WHILE LONDON BURNS" is typical—and passing motorists are urged to toot their horns in token of support. The tooting in some places is continuous.

At Euston fire station, near my London home, pickets are collecting signatures to a petition urging acceptance of the wage demand. Signatures, mainly from office workers who pass the station, are coming in at the rate of 1,000 a day. Collection boxes at this one station have been filled with 800 pounds (\$1,440) for the strike fund in the first week. Similar news comes in from other cities, including a rather piquant incident in Cardiff, where a prostitute walked in with a bottle of whisky for the firemen, remarking that her nightly earnings exceeded their weekly wage.

Government unyielding.

Though the strike is solid, except in some rural areas where regular firemen are outnumbered by part-timers who are not FBU members, the government remains unyielding. As Rees and Callaghan see things, their entire wage policy is being tested. Certainly, if the firemen win anything like a 30 percent increase, it will be hard to resist similar demands—notably from the miners. The unofficial strike by power station workers has ended, but the leader of the electricians' union has let it be known that there will be militant action—in his words, "an awful bloody battle"—unless adequate raises are secured when the current contract runs out.

It must be remembered that the TUC now endorses no part of government wage policy, except the pledge of a 12 month interval between demands. The 10 percent ceiling is a unilateral government policy buttressed neither by the force of legal compulsion nor by TUC endorsement. Yet for Callaghan everything depends on enforcing the ceiling—the confidence of foreign investors and the IMF, and also the alliance with the liberals which is keeping the government in office. Political leaders who have repeatedly stated that there can be no exceptions naturally find themselves with no room for maneuver. *Mervyn Jones writes for the New Statesman.*



Striking firemen picket outside London fire station Nov. 14.

CP opts for pluralism

The Congress of the British Communist party, held on Nov. 12-14, has predictably resulted in endorsement of the "Euro-communist" policy urged by the leaders. Quotation marks are in order because these leaders sedulously avoid the label, stating that mere coincidence accounts for their adoption of a line of thinking that parallels that of Berlinguer and Carrillo.

Hard-line delegates from some branches put up numerous amendments to the party's policy document—the newly revised version of *The British Road to Socialism*. The key vote was on a proposal to delete the pledge that a Communist government would resign office if defeated in a subsequent election. The issue may

well be called unreal in a country whose CP isn't within hailing distance of electing a single member of Parliament, but it was taken as the litmus test of belief in pluralistic democracy.

The amendment was defeated by 300 votes to 66. Victory for the leadership was never in doubt, since the majority of hard-liners (known in CP circles as "tankies" from their support of Russian tank invasions) had earlier quit the party to gather in the so-called New Communist party. Taking this into account, the minority vote at the Congress was surprisingly large and reveals the reluctance with which Britain's Communists have come round to the new ideas.

—Mervyn Jones

G&W and Dominicans

Continued from page 10.

island. Bluhdorn tried and failed to get Paramount's production of *Islands in the Stream* to film in the Dominican Republic. He also initiated the idea of filming the Miss Universe contest last July (which took place in Santo Domingo) for possible use in a later production. (The Miss Universe pageant could provide benefits for Gulf and Western in more ways than one. Gulf and Western subsidiary clothing manufacturer Kayser-Roth owns all the rights to the Miss Universe contest and receives payments from each host country. Kayser-Roth also has a plant in the Dominican Republic.)

Perhaps the most fitting Gulf and Western/Dominican/Paramount collab-

oration was *Godfather II*. A key scene in the film is set in the last dying days of Batista's Havana, with the glitter of the casinos, the tourism, the mob, the armed soldiers, and the plush decadence that characterized the city prior to Castro's rise to power. Present-day Santo Domingo was in fact a "natural setting" for that scene; as the travel writer for the *San Francisco Chronicle* declared: Santo Domingo is "perhaps on its way to becoming a replacement for once gay Havana." With the troops on the streets, the casinos in full swing, the dominant foreign company in a cozy relationship with the government, the film's image and reality blend. For Gulf and Western that reality means extraordinary profits and a lush island of their own. ■

German lawyer

Continued from page 9.

politics, but more profoundly, to the ideology of the famous Trilateral Commission." (The 1975 report to the Trilateral Commission on *The Crisis of Democracy* recommended more authoritarian government in the Western democracies, and in particular, measures to curb "value-oriented intellectuals" who carp about injustice and abuses of power.)

Admiral Antoine Sanguinetti, who objects to the American-imposed substitution of "security" doctrine for national defense, expressed indignation against "the violation of right of asylum in my country" and concern over "the rise in Europe of a phenomenon of South Americanization."

As if to confirm the Admiral's fears,

President Giscard's personal envoy, former Interior Minister Michel Poniatowski, last month visited Argentina where, in an interview with the newspaper *La Nacion*, he declared that: "The first condition for human rights as well as for freedom and progress is the uprooting of terrorism to which we are all subjected; that is the *sine qua non*. Terrorism is a state of war in which all States are in solidarity..."

Whether called "Germanization" or "Americanization," Western Europe is suddenly faced with the development of a process in which political issues and conflict are shoved aside to make way for a "war on terrorism" that is self-perpetuating because it breeds the very evil it claims to combat. ■

THE BIKO



Demonstrator holds a picture of Steve Biko on the steps of the Pretoria old synagogue where the inquest was opened Nov. 14.

STEVE BIKO WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT LEADER OF OPPOSITION TO THE SOUTH African apartheid system of recent years. His organizing, until he was banned, and the powerful influence of his ideas, which reached all over the country, made him feared by the Pretoria regime. Some gruesome details of his death at the age of 30 while being interrogated by the Secret Police came out during the inquest into his death.

He was kept naked in a cell for 19 days, most of them in chains, and was taken naked and unconscious 750 miles in a jeep just before he died. His case has roused international attention, memorial meetings are being held all over the world and his ideas, expressed in the Black Consciousness ideology, are being carefully studied.

This interview with Steve Biko is one of the few firsthand recordings of his thoughts in the last years of his life. The tape of this interview has been circulating underground in South Africa. It was recently smuggled out. Because of its clandestine nature, both its origin and the identity of the interviewer are unknown.

The tape begins with the conclusion of a statement by a third party. In response, Biko gives a history of black resistance in South Africa.

—Dennis Brutus, exiled South African poet,
professor of English, Northwestern University

[INTERVIEWER: What are the origins of the Black Consciousness movement?]

STEPHEN BIKO: The history starts off after 1963-64. If you remember this era, there were many arrests in this country which stemmed from underground activity by PAC (Pan Africanist Congress), by ANC (African National Congress), and this led to some kind of political emasculation of the black population especially, with the result that there was no participation by blacks in the articulation of their own aspirations. The whole opposition to what the government was doing to blacks came, in fact from white organizations, mainly student groups like NUSAS (National Union of South African Students), the Liberal party and the Progressive party.

When I came to university, some time in 1966, in my own analysis and that of my friends, there was some kind of anomaly in this situation where whites were, in fact, the main participants in our oppression and at the same time the main participants in the opposition to that oppression. The arena was controlled by whites in what we called "totality of white power."

We argued that changes can come only as a result of a program worked out by black people. For black people to be able to work out a program they need to defeat the main element in politics working against them,

a psychological feeling of inferiority, which was deliberately cultivated by the system. So, equally, the whites in order to be able to listen to the blacks needed to defeat the one problem they had, which was one of superiority.

Now, the only way to come about this, of course, was to look anew at the black man and what is lending him to denigration so easily. So first of all, we said black students could not participate in multi-racial organizations which were by far white organizations because of the overwhelming number of white students at university. Second, these organizations were concentrating mainly on problems affecting the white student community.

And third, of course, when it came to political questions, they were far more articulate than the average black student because of their superior training, and because of their numbers they could outvote us on any issue. This meant that NUSAS gave political opinions that were largely affected by the whiteness of the organization.

So in '68 we started forming what is now called SASO, the South Africans' Student Organization, which was firmly based on black consciousness, the essence of which was for the black man to elevate his own position by positively looking at those value systems that make him distinctively a man in society.

To what extent have you been successful?

To the extent that we have diminished the element of fear in the minds of black people. In the period of '63 to '66, black people were terribly scared of involvement in politics. The universities were putting out no useful leadership to the black people, because everybody found it more comfortable to lose himself in a particular profession, to make money. But since those days, black students have seen their role as being primarily to prepare themselves for leadership roles in the various facets of the black community.

There is far more political talk now, far more political debate, and far more condemnation of the system from average black people than since 1960 and possibly before. I'm referring to the oppressive educational system that the students are talking about. And [the] police, in fact the government, wants to further entrench what the students are protesting about, by bringing police saracens, and dogs, and almost soldiers, so to speak. (Saracens are armored cars. —ed.)

Now the response of the students then was in terms of their pride. They were not prepared to be cowed even at the point of a gun, and hence, what happened, happened. Some people were killed and these riots just continued and continued, because at no stage were the young students, nor for that matter at some stage their parents, prepared to be scared.

Everybody saw this as a deliberate act of oppression to try and cow the black masses. Everybody was determined equally to say to the police, to say to the government, "We shall not be scared by your police, by your dogs, and by your soldiers." Now, this kind of lack of fear I see as a very important determinant in political action.

Since last June something like 400 young blacks were killed. . . .

499, actually.

499. . . And do you think this will not be a deterrent?

No. I think it has been a very useful weapon in merging the young and the old. Before then, there was obviously a difference in the outlook of the old generation to the younger generation. The younger generation was moving too fast for the old generation. The old generation was torn between Bantustan politics on the one side, old allegiances which were not progressive, you know, to groups like ANC, PAC, without any resultant action. And there were those who were simply too scared to move.

TAPES

Do you condemn Bantustan leadership altogether?

Yes, of course. We condemn Bantustan leaders, even the best of them, like Buthezi.

Well, just say a few words on that.

Our attitude here is that you cannot, in pursuing the aspirations of black people, operate from a platform which is meant for the oppression of the black people. Now we see all these so-called Bantustan platforms as being deliberate creations by the Nationalist government to contain the political aspirations of the black people and to give them pseudo political platforms to direct their attention to. Now men like Buthezi, Mafanzima, Mangope, and so on are all participants in the white man's game of withholding the aspirations of the black people.

They are leading black people to a divided struggle, to speak as Zulus, to speak as Xhosas, to speak as Pedis, which is a completely new feature in political life of black people in this country.

We are of the view that we should operate as one united whole towards attainment of an egalitarian society for the whole of Azama. And therefore any entrenchment of tribalistic, racialistic or any form of sectional outlook is abhorred by us. We hate it and we seek to destroy it. It is for this reason, therefore, that we cannot see any form of coalition with any of the Bantustan leaders, even the so-called best of them, because they destroy themselves by virtue of the kind of argument that they have put up.

Do you believe that by means of disturbances like the one in Soweto you will bring about a real change of this society?

I see this as only one form of discontent. I'm of the view that the change process is going to be protracted. It depends entirely on the degree to which the Nationalist government is prepared to hold on to power. My own analysis is that they want to hold on to power and fight with their backs to the wall. Now, conflict could be avoidable only if they would be prepared to avoid it. Those who are at the seeking end, that is those who want justice, who want an egalitarian society, can only pursue their aspirations according to the resistance offered by the opposition.

Now, I am a member of the Black Consciousness Movement. I was a member of BPC before I was banned, and now I have been, I'm told, appointed as honorary president of BPC (Black Political Congress). The line of the BPC is to explore, as much as possible, non-violent means within the country. That is why we exist. But there are people, and there are many people, who have despaired of the efficiency of non-violence as a method. They are of the view that the present nationalist government can be unseated only by people operating a military wing.

I don't know if this is the final answer. In the end there is going to be a total effect of many agencies for change operating in South Africa. I, personally, would like to see fewer groups. I would like to see groups like ANC, PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement deciding to form one liberation group. It is only when black people are so dedicated and so united in their cause that we can effect the greatest result.

When you speak of an egalitarian society, do you mean a socialist one?

Yes. I think there is no running away from the fact now that in South Africa there is such an ill distribution of wealth that any form of political freedom which does not touch on the distribution, the proper distribution of wealth, will be meaningless. The whites have locked up within a small minority of themselves the greater proportion of the country's wealth.

If we have a mere change of face of those in governing positions, what is likely to happen is that black people will continue to be poor, and you will get a few blacks filtering through into the so-called bourgeoisie. Our society would be run almost as of yesterday. So that for meaningful change to occur, there needs to be an attempt at reorganizing the whole economic pattern and economic policies within this country.

BPC believes in a judicious blending of private enterprise which is highly diminished, and state participation in industry and commerce, especially in industries like mining, gold, diamonds, asbestos, and so on—like forestry and, of course, complete ownership of land. Now, in that kind of judicious blending of the two systems, we hope to arrive at a more equitable distribution of wealth.

Clearly you see a country in which black and white can live amicably on equal terms together?

That is correct. We see a completely non-racial society. We don't believe, for instance, in the so-called "guarantee for minority rights," because guaranteeing minority rights implies an evolution of portions of the community on a race basis. We believe that in our country there shall be no minority, there shall be no majority—there shall just be people. Those people will have the same status before the law, and they will have the same political rights before the law. So, in a sense, it will be a completely non-racial, egalitarian society.

But will the vast number of blacks after all their experiences be able to live a life without giving vent to feelings of revenge?

We believe it is the duty of the vanguard political movement that brings about change to educate people's outlooks. In the same way that blacks have never lived in a socialist, economic system, they will learn to live in one. In the same way that they've always lived in a racially divided society, they've got to learn to live in a non-racial society. There will be many things to learn, and all these things must be brought to them and explained to the people by the vanguard movement leading the revolution.

There's no doubt in my mind that people—and I know people in terms of my own background, where I stay—are not necessarily revengeful nor are they sadistic in outlook. The black man has no ill intentions for the white man. The black man is only incensed at the white man to the extent that he wants to entrench himself in a position of power to exploit the black man.

As you know, the main argument of the government always has been that the black man isn't on a civilizational level at present to pull his full weight politically. Now, do you think of a one man-one vote franchise?

Yes, we do. Entirely one man-one vote, no qualification whatsoever, except the normal ones that you find throughout the world.

And you think that the black man in fact is perfectly well able...?

The black man is well able, and the white man knows it. The irony of that situation is that when the white government negotiates so-called independence for the so-called Transkei, they don't speak in terms of the qualified franchise. In the Transkei, every Transkeian votes, and you get white Nationalist politicians arguing that this is a system that is going to work for the Transkei. But somehow, when it comes to the broader country, the black may not vote because they don't understand the sophisticated economic patterns out here—they understand nothing.

This is all fascinating. As an outsider, I can only say my feeling is that this is bound to be a very long and probably very bloody road.

There is that possibility. But as I said earlier on, it will be dictated purely by the response of the Nationalist party. If they've been able to see that in Rhodesia, Smith must negotiate with the leaders of the black people. I think conflict is unavoidable, given the predictable response from the present system. And this conflict can be pretty generalized, and extensive and protracted. My worst fears are that, working on the present analysis, conflict can only be on a generalized basis between black and white. We don't have sufficient groups that can form coalitions with blacks. But, the more such groups come up—that is groups from the whites at the present moment—the better to minimize that conflict.

Mr. Biko, thank you very much.

PROTEST IN THE U.S.

By Harold Baron

CONTINUING STRUGGLES BY BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS ARE BEGINNING TO GENERATE support in the U.S. Major campaigns have developed against banks that make loans to South Africa and against university investment in corporations that operate in South Africa. The public marketing of South African Kruggerand coins has provided another target.

No less than 47 American banks have made loans to South Africa. The bulk of the funds comes from eight giant multi-national banks: Citibank, Chase Manhattan, Manufacturers Hanover, and Morgan Guaranty in New York; First National Bank in Boston; First National Bank and Continental Illinois in Chicago; and Bank of America in California. American banks account for \$2.2 billion of the \$9.3 billion that South Africa owes to transnational banks. This vital support to the troubled economy of South Africa is the target of a national campaign by The Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa.

To date the campaign has brought about the withdrawal of at least \$30 million from the major banks. The biggest withdrawals have been made by trade union and religious bodies. The National Council of Churches declared on Nov. 11 that they were undertaking the "withdrawal of all funds and closure of all accounts in financial institutions that invest or make loans to the South African government or businesses and urge constituent memberships to adopt this policy."

Several NCC checking accounts at Citibank have been closed, a \$6 million pension fund that is administered by Morgan Guaranty is being reviewed. United Electrical Workers and the Furriers Joint Board have withdrawn payroll accounts of \$4 million from Chase Manhattan and \$8 million from Manufacturer's Hanover, respectively. The Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers has voted to withdraw its deposits from American banks that are supporting South Africa.

In a parallel move the Congressional Black Caucus is pushing the Carter administration to eliminate Export-Import Bank guarantees to U.S. companies trading and investing in South Africa. While as of Aug. 31 the Eximbank does not extend loans for U.S. exports to South Africa, it did guarantee \$215 million in bank and other loans.

Last May 9, 294 students were arrested at Stanford University sit-in. They were demanding that the university trustees vote their proxies for over 90,000 shares of Ford Motor in favor of a church-sponsored resolution that the company withdraw from South Africa.

Students at the University of California, at the Berkeley, Santa Cruz and Davis campuses, have held sit-ins

protesting that about one-third of the University's investment portfolio was in companies operating in South Africa.

Anti-apartheid campaigns are underway at the University of Minnesota and the University of Wisconsin (Madison). The trustees of the University of Illinois were forced to vote in favor of a stockholders' resolution to have General Electric withdraw from South Africa. In New England, protests have been organized at University of Massachusetts (Amherst), Dartmouth, and University of Connecticut, among others.

A variety of groups have attacked the sale of the Kruggerand. In New York and Chicago the NBC and CBS television affiliates have been pressured to stop running ads for its sale. Some members from the defunct African Liberation Support Committee have formed a "Ban the Kruggerand Coalition." After several weeks of their picketing, Carson Pirie Scott & Co., the Chicago department store, has withdrawn the coin from sale.

For information on the bank withdrawal campaign contact: Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa (COBLSA), 305 E. 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017, or COBLSA c/o CALC, 198 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10038. For information on college and university campaigns write Campuses United Against Apartheid, c/o Associated Students of Stanford University, 205 Tressider, Stanford, Calif. 94305 and Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, Room 566, 475 Riverside Drive, N.Y. 10027.

Harold Baron is on the Urban Studies Program, Associated Colleges of the Midwest, and is a member of the Campaign for a Democratic Foreign Policy.

The Houston women's conference

In the history of American women's struggle for equality, the National Women's Conference at Houston, Nov. 18-21, must rank as equal in importance to the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848, which gave birth to the modern women's movement. In recent times the Houston conference far overshadows any other single such event relating to women's role in American society.

Indeed, in the potential implications of its program and in the number, diversity, and representative authority of the delegates and observers in attendance, the Conference is unparalleled in American political experience.

The Conference was also unusual in that it was mandated and paid for by Congress to advise it and the President on women's rights and affairs, but was not controlled by either the President or Congress.

Over three-fourths of the delegates were elected at public state and territorial conferences. Unlike the "counter-conference" delegates who were self-appointed, they represented substantial constituencies. Along with the 10,000-15,000 observers (who paid their own way) the conference participants comprised a congregation of unprecedented diversity—in age, income levels, occupations, racial and ethnic origin, opinion and creed—to such an extent that the phrase commonly heard among participants was "a rainbow of women."

Rumors of death dispelled.

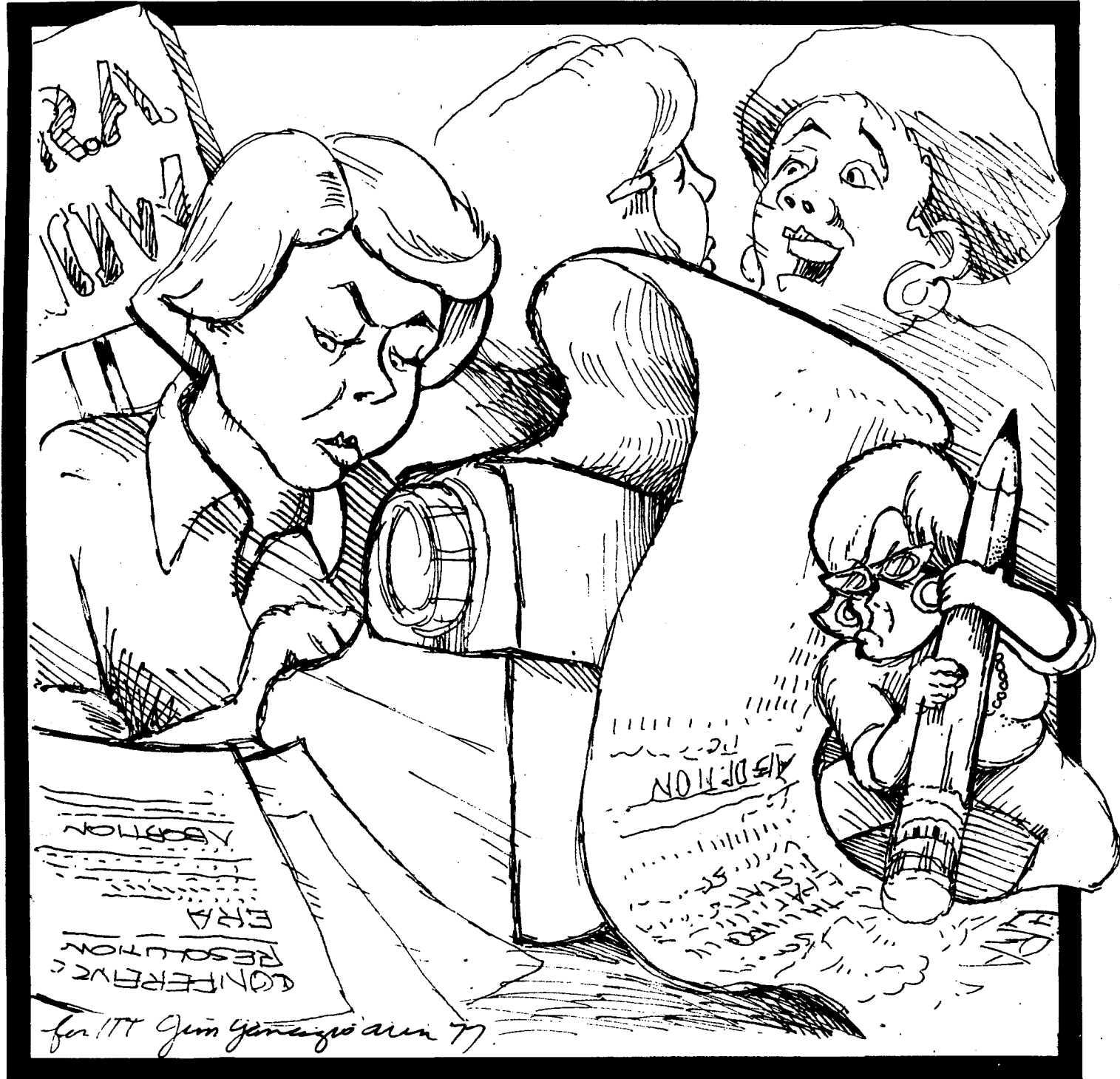
This diversity did not prevent an efficiently run conference or the adoption by solid majorities of a "National Plan of Action" for presentation to the President, Congress, and the American people. It encouraged and facilitated, on the other hand, a rich exchange of views, the striking of new friendships and organizational networks, and the emergence of new women political leaders.

The conference laid to rest all rumors of the death or decay of the women's movement. It made poor prophets of Phyllis Schlafly and her allies who had predicted the movement would come to an end at Houston, and who belied their own prediction by later complaining about the conference's unity. Against the diversity and heterogeneity of the delegates, the ideological and social homogeneity of the "counter-conference" delegates stood out in stark contrast. If anything died at Houston, it was the myth of the power or popularity of the anti-feminist right.

The unity on program at the conference rests on solid social circumstances. First, the inequality of opportunity, treatment, and condition that all women suffer. Second, the accelerated entry of women into the world of work outside the home (49 percent of all women 16 years of age and older are in the work force, and 41 percent of the full-time work force are women), and the fact that the overwhelming majority of working women are wage or salary earning employees, not capitalists or employers. These two circumstances operate powerfully in generating common needs and common programmatic responses.

The recent movements of blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, and Asian Americans have also had their educative effect. From their own experience as well women are especially sensitive to the injustices suffered on account of circumstance of birth, and the conference delegates were particularly receptive to the programmatic proposals of minority delegates (who made up one-third of the total, a larger minorities' representation than at any previous comparable gathering).

The prevalent class composition of



can women, and increasingly of the women's movement (as Liz Carpenter of ERAmerica said, "We can no longer be accused of being a middle-class white women's cause"), was punctuated by the prominent role of labor movement women, especially the Coalition of Labor Union Women, not only at Houston, but also at the state conferences that selected delegates. The conference will very likely strengthen the bonds among general women's organizations, the labor movement, and minorities' movements.

The 25-point National Plan of Action is indicative. Most of the resolutions passed were addressed to the conditions of working women. They ranged from demands for a full employment economy, a national health security system, social security and welfare reforms, a guaranteed annual income, unionization of unorganized working women, and transfer of spending from military to social purposes, to programs concerning child care, homemakers, educational opportunity, older women, rural women, the disabled, the battered, the imprisoned. Other programs such as those concerning the arts and humanities, the media, credit, insurance, victims of rape, and aid to small business women appeal to working class and non-working class women alike.

But the general thrust of the National Plan is toward social goals facilitated by a government (at all levels) to be made into one that is of, by, and for the people, as against market values and corporate investment priorities. In the debate on conference resolutions, the opposition delegates within the conference, like the "counter-conference" participants, were responding to something real when they defended the "free enterprise" system as

much as "pro-family" or "pro-life" themes.

The opposition delegates and the "counter-conference" rightists focused their attack for media purposes on the ERA (which the conference overwhelmingly reaffirmed), abortion, and homosexual rights. The conference majority were not intimidated. "Moderates" and "militants" joined in upholding principle against the temptations of a convenient opportunism. This demonstrated the maturity and growing self-confidence of the women's movement, among newcomers as well as veterans.

The challenge to the corporate system implicit in the National Plan will inevitably draw resistance from the legislatures and Congress as now constituted, and from President Carter. It will also lead to division in the women's movement. Such resistance and division, however, need not weaken the equalitarian wing of the women's movement, which is potentially the majority. They may, on the contrary, strengthen it by further clarifying the issues and the real stakes in fully achieving women's rights, and by quickening alliances with the poor, minorities, and labor.

Learning from feminists.

As the National Plan focuses on legislative programs and hence on electoral politics, the challenge implicit in it will require the emergence of new political leaders rooted in working class interests (a process already evident at the conference), and the transformation of the legislative branches by the election of such leaders, both women and men. Karen DeCrow, ex-president of the National Organization for Women said as much in observing:

"Everybody was saying, 'Why do we have to go through Carter to the Congress? We could be the Congress.'" Easier said than done, but saying is a first step to doing.

The National Plan will now serve as a program around which to organize, just as the conference itself re-energized the women's movement and established new political alliances and networks within and among the states. It represents the adoption by a "mainstream" coalition of organizations and individuals of what was five years ago the Feminist agenda.

The feminist movement has shown how to achieve unity in diversity, and more, the greater strength of a unity that welcomes and sustains diversity. The feminists have also shown that the way to spread new (or revolutionary) ideas and to build organized strength around them is not to hide them in a closet or defer them until a future that never comes, but to talk about them with others, write about them, agitate, persuade, and convince. They have shown how to reach out to people in popular style without forsaking principles. Not being afraid of the American people, nor of ridicule or temporary rejection, they have persisted in the courage of their convictions while submitting them and themselves to popular judgment.

The feminists have shown that it is politically wise and realistic to have confidence in "the hearts, minds and moral consciences of men and women and what they [may] do to make our society truly democratic and open to all." ("Declaration of American Women," Houston Conference).

"We socialists have a lot to learn from the feminists."

Considered opinion

The boob tube strikes with vengeance

Sooner or later it had to happen: a teenager in Florida who was an "ardent" television fan broke into the home of a neighbor, robbed her and shot her dead.

His lawyer pled him not guilty by reason of insanity: he said the violence the boy had witnessed in the programs he watched obsessively day and night in defiance of parental authority, had driven him mad.

Neither the judge, the prosecuting attorney (of course) nor the jury bought the plea that "involuntary subliminal television intoxication" had led the 15-year-old to kill his 83-year-old neighbor, steal her money and then treat four of his friends to a weekend spree at "Disney World."

He was found guilty of first degree murder. The state did not ask for a death sentence in view of his age, but his lawyer will appeal. He insisted that the illegitimate immigrant child was mentally unstable and lived in a home ruled by a stern stepfather. He had had a TV set as his baby-sitter from the age of five; it had taught him English; its programs of violence were his delight and thousands of them had conditioned him to kill.

The fate of this obviously sick juvenile, who will get good, bad or no treatment in a mental institution, is far less important than the question raised by his case.

One of the most important is the mounting national revulsion to television trash. Another is how much it reflects the patent disintegration of our society. A third is the question of the industry itself, certainly the most powerful and pervasive mass-communication medium we have ever developed, its potential for good as well as evil and its owners' determination to do what they want with it—to

He had had a TV set as his baby-sitter from the age of five; it had taught him English; its programs of violence were his delight and thousands of them had conditioned him to kill.

make a buck—and to hell with the rest of us.

Its arrogance is such that one of its spokesmen, Roy Damish of the Television Information Institute (PR, that is), "answering" criticism by the National Parent-Teachers Association last February, said that "those behind the movement to limit violence are self-righteous 'elitists' who think they should have the right to censor programs because they are better than the viewers." (UPI, Feb. 23.)

A month earlier NBC itself broadcast a program called "Violence in America," in which it showed two and a half hours of real violence—and 15 minutes of TV's simulated violence—in a vulgar effort to say, "See how violent we are! Don't blame it on us! Besides, the audience wants it."

Does it? Or have you ever had a yen for entertainment and spun your dial to find anywhere from five to seven cop-shows back to back, larded with ancient movies and/or "quiz" programs.

Endless surveys by public and private organizations have cogently demonstrated the extent and quality of the violence the medium purveys day and night.

It has been estimated, for example, that the average American child spends more time before the TV than in school and has seen 11,000 murders on television by

the time he or she is 14. To say "It's only a movie" and assume that it has no effect on the child's mind or emotions is to run counter to the known facts of our society: more and more people are observed to witness violent crime in their neighborhoods, and do nothing about it because they "don't want to be involved."

To contend that a steady diet of "drama" demonstrating that the way to solve problems is to use your fists, a club, a lead pipe, knife or a gun is innocuous, is to leave unexplained the rising incidence of violent crime in this, the most violent country in the world.

That unreliable agency, the FBI, reported in September that there had been an 8 percent decrease "in murders and a 10 percent drop in robberies," which reduced the nation's "incidence of violent crime" by 4 percent in 1976. (AP, Sept. 28.)

"However," said the same document, "the total for all serious offenses, including non-violent acts such as auto theft, rose by just less than 1 percent," and it went on to report that last year there was *one murder every 28 minutes, one rape every nine minutes, a robbery every 75 seconds and a car stolen every 33.*

If we can be "encouraged" by figures like these, as Carter-appointed Attorney-General Griffin Bell said he was, then we

can also pretend there is no connection between the endlessly-repeated depiction of these acts on television, day in, day out, for years on end, and what is happening all around us every day.

The biggest question remains: What can we do about it? What *should* we do about it? Can we hold still for governmental, state, local or vigilante censorship of the medium if it will not police itself and cannot develop any taste at all?

TV is big industry, "regulated" by a government whose regulations seem to have no teeth when it comes face-to-face with the sponsors of the most violent programs, who are themselves among the biggest businesses in the land. Their names?

Colgate-Palmolive, Gillette, Ford, Johnson & Johnson, Lysol, American Motors, General Motors, Anacin, Sears, Kodak, Schlitz, General Foods, Burger King, Frito-Lay, Campbell Soups and dear old Joe DiMaggio's Mr. Coffee.

They tell us, "If you don't like it, don't look at it." They're absolutely right. That's precisely what we should do—turn it off. But we should also stock a supply of postcards on which we write: "Because of your sponsorship of the disgusting program called (insert title), I will never again buy (insert product)."

This might slow them down a bit until such time as a more rational society can eliminate TV pollution, together with all the other forms of poison from which we suffer today.

Alvah Bessie is a novelist, critic and screenwriter who was involved in the Spanish Civil War as a soldier of the Republic and was a member of The Hollywood 10.

Saul Landau & Ralph Stavins

The Helms case: whatever happened to justice?

The Helms case raised two questions: to whom did Richard Helms, former head of the CIA, lie, and what did he lie about?

"I had sworn my oath to protect certain secrets. I didn't want to lie. I didn't want to mislead the Senate. I was simply trying to find my way through a very difficult situation in which I found myself." Helms thus portrayed himself as a man torn between his oath to Congress and his oath to the Agency. He lied to the Congress to protect the integrity of the Agency. Having accepted Helms' assessment of this "political equation," the Justice department concluded that it was eminently fair to find Helms technically guilty of an invented crime—refusing to testify "fully, completely and accurately" before Congress—but to arrange a suspended sentence for him.

But why assume that oaths to the CIA and to the Congress are equal? Why accept the personal and moral dilemma that Helms lays claim to? The oath to the Congress is taken to ensure republican government—government based on a free flow of information between the administration, Congress and the public. Questions propounded by members of Congress to department heads are intended to protect and enhance that flow of public knowledge. If such information is withheld, republican government becomes no more than an ornament, robbed of its substance.

The oath to the CIA, on the other hand, is designed to keep secrets from Congress and the public. The CIA oath protects the national security state, a second form of government that has grown up alongside the republic, and that sometimes adds to, but more frequently undermines the democratic foundation of the republic. Whereas public knowledge, declared policy, and rule of law are vital to republican govern-

Helms lied to Congress to protect the CIA. Having accepted Helms' assessment of this "political equation," the Justice department concluded it was fair to find Helms technically guilty of an invented crime, and then to give him a suspended sentence.

ment, secrecy, covert operations, and higher orders provide the bread and wine for a national security state. The CIA oath reduces Congress, and ultimately democracy, to a fetish.

It is painful, though, for some to admit this. It is neither logical nor pleasant to live in two separate states, so they imagine a unity where Congress, the CIA, and the constitution all share the same political goals and legal procedures. To maintain the illusion of one government, however, the needs of the republic must be synthesized with those of the national security state or, as the Court likes to put it, the public's right to know must be balanced against the need for state secrets.

But how to perform this balancing test unless we know what Helms did not tell the Congress?

At the Helm of the CIA.

Between Sept. 4 and Oct. 23, 1970, President Nixon, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Helms plotted a two-track strategy to prevent Salvador Allende from being inaugurated as the democratically-elected President in Chile. Track One, following the conventional route for covert operations, included pay-offs, "black propaganda," and infiltration. It em-

ploied the accustomed elements of command and control—the 40 Committee, the State department, and the CIA.

Track Two was altogether different. It utilized exceptional and hazardous methods, even for covert operations, and created novel lines of authority and command. In Track Two, Nixon, Kissinger and Helms set the course for eliminating General Rene Schneider, Chief of Staff. Schneider had sworn an oath to the Chilean constitution. His unshakeable belief in Chilean democracy led Nixon and Kissinger to refer to him as the "Constitutionalist." The planners of Track Two channeled \$8 million into "friendly" hands for the purpose of fomenting a military coup against the Chilean democratic system. They kept the 40 Committee, State department, and more traditional elements within the CIA ignorant of their plans. In order to abort Chilean democracy, Nixon, Kissinger and Helms not only lied to Congress, but also deceived their own colleagues at Defense, State, the intelligence agencies and the White House. The Triumvirate became usurpers at home as well as abroad.

For Chile, the consequences were devastating. Schneider was killed, although the first attempted coup failed. Allende

retained power for three years until the combined efforts of the CIA, the Chilean military, and the fascist political party *Patria y Libertad*, were finally crowned with success in the summer of '73. The oldest democracy in the southern hemisphere was overthrown and replaced by a military junta; Allende was murdered along with 20,000 of his countrymen; 100,000 citizens passed through the torture chambers; another 200,000 were forced to leave their homeland in order to save their lives, and 1,500 have mysteriously disappeared.

What are the consequences for Helms? By fining him \$2,000 without sending him to jail, the Justice department and the court have found Helms guilty but have not punished him. Indeed, he has been martyred. In the words of Helms' attorney, Edward Bennet Williams, the sentence can be worn as a "badge of honor." For the American public, a lawless official has been made into a patriotic hero. For the CIA, the ruling has encouraged case officers to ignore the higher law in the name of higher orders. Conversely, it has weakened the efforts of those who had come to believe that intelligence gathering ought to be constrained by law. In short, the Helms decision represents what C. Wright Mills called "the higher immorality."

Future leaders can be held personally accountable to law only if public officials who have violated the law in the past are explicitly punished with both physical detention and moral stigma. We must put the past in front of us, not behind us, as the Justice department would prefer.

Saul Landau is director of the Transnational Institute. Ralph L. Stavins is director of the Government Accountability Project, Washington, D.C.

Vicente Navarro

Occupational safety and health vs. the right of capital accumulation

The initial UN Declaration of Human Rights speaks not only about civil and political rights, such as the rights to life, to freedom of organization and expression of opinion, but also displays a commitment to the rights to work, to receive a fair wage, to security and retirement, and to health and education. Most current discussion in the U.S. focuses on civil and political rights. Our financial and corporate establishments and their servants in government, media and academe, assuming that these rights exist in the U.S., trumpet the superiority of our system while maintaining a deafening silence about other human rights. A quick look at the U.S. shows why they are silent.

Lets start with the civil right to life. This right assumes not only the right to life but also the right to protection against physical injury, harm or suffering that is inflicted on someone against his or her will. The ultimate in such harm is, of course, killing someone. But the right to life in our capitalist system clearly conflicts with the right to private property, which gives Capital—*vox populi* calls it big business—the right to control the process of production. This process is not intended to optimize workers' welfare, nor to insure the protection of life, but to maximize capital accumulation. Because of the dominant influence that Capital has over government, the rights to life and to freedom from harm are dependent on and secondary to the right to pursue capital accumulation.

An overwhelming amount of legislation in our society protects private property. This contrasts dramatically with the meager, obviously insufficient legislation to protect workers against injury and loss of life at work. The dimensions of that harm are enormous.

Four million workers contract occupational diseases every year, causing as many

as 100,000 deaths, with the number of on-the-job injuries exceeding 20 million per year and the number of deaths in work-related accidents reaching approximately 28,500. Most of this is preventable. The dramatic dimensions of this harm at the work place are there for all to see. In terms of American lives and injuries, the harm and damage done far outweighs that caused by the Vietnam war.

These appalling conditions are even worse for occupations like coal mining. On the average, one miner is killed every other day in American coal mines. And 4,000 miners die every year from black lung disease. One out of every five working miners is a victim of black lung. This is a tragic picture of the dramatic and overwhelming violations of the right to life of our working population, perpetuated daily for the glory and benefit of Capital. Very little is done to correct such violation of human rights.

As indicated in a memorandum published by the Senate Watergate Committee, a Nixon official promised the business community that "no highly controversial standards (i.e., cotton, dust, etc.) [would] be proposed by the Occupational Safety and Health Agency (OSHA) during the coming four years of the Nixon administration." The record of the Ford and Carter administrations is not much better. Legislation to protect workers' lives and safety is extremely meager.

The U.S., having one of the highest mortality and disease rates in the work place among developed capitalist countries, also has the poorest legislation to protect the worker. After three years of operation, only two firms have been convicted of criminal violations, and the average fine for OSHA violations has been \$25. The concern expressed by the Carter administration that the normative functions of OSHA not impair the func-

tioning of the economy shows a similar set of priorities: life and safety must be subject to a more important aim: the assurance of the unalterability of the process of capital accumulation. There is, in summary, a clear violation of the rights to life and to freedom from harm of many and large sectors of our working population—a violation of human rights met by a deafening silence in both our legislative chambers and in our media.

Neither does the U.S. compare at all favorably in respect to socio-economic rights with the majority of other countries, including other capitalist developed countries. This explains the U.S. establishment's silence about such rights.

Think about the right to work: The U.S. has the highest unemployment rate among capitalist developed countries (8.5 percent in 1975, or over 7.5 million people. Similarly, concerning the right to fair wage; the number of workers who, in spite of working full time, do not receive adequate income to provide a decent standard of living totals 7 million, or approximately 7.5 percent of the U.S. labor force. Adding the unemployed, discouraged workers (able people who would like to work but have given up the hope of finding it), involuntary part-time workers and low-paid workers, over one-third of the U.S. labor force is unemployed, or under employed and underpaid. Their human rights to work and a fair wage are regularly violated. Here again, we find a clear incompatibility between full employment and fair wages and the nature of the capitalist system. Capitalism needs a reserve army of idle and unemployed workers to establish a sense of both insecurity and discipline in the labor force. But this unemployment is not only in violation of the socio-economic rights of the unemployed, it is also a denial of civil rights, such as the rights to life and to safety.



Indeed, unemployment causes and is responsible for much harm and damage. As indicated by a recent congressional report, every increase in unemployment of 1.4 percent determines 51,570 deaths (more than all casualties of Vietnam put together), including 1,540 suicides and 1,740 homicides, and leads to 7,660 state prison admissions, 5,520 state mental institution admissions, and many other types of harm, disease and unease.

Similarly, in other areas, such as health and education, the U.S. is the only developed capitalist country that has not yet accepted that the access to comprehensive health care is a human right. And even regarding education—usually considered a human right in the U.S.—none other than President Johnson indicated, in 1965, that over one-quarter of Americans—54 million—had not finished high school. To finish this quick sketch of the status of the socio-economic rights of our American people, let me finally say that our system of social security is among the least developed in the Western capitalist world. And this underdevelopment of social security is very much a result, again, of the overwhelming political dominance of Capital and the political weakness of our laboring population.

In summary, that overwhelming dominance that Capital has over our political, social and economic institutions determines the dramatic insufficiency of the political, civil, social and economic rights of the majority of the U.S. population today and (as I will show in the second part of this article) of large sectors of the world population as well. Capitalism and human rights are incompatible.

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DIALOG

The Chicago version of Paul Robeson is far different from the one ITT described

On Nov. 25, I saw the play *Paul Robeson* in Chicago. When it ended the entire audience, including myself, gave a standing ovation to James Earl Jones (who plays Robeson) and to the play. The house, filled to capacity, was overwhelmingly black.

My reaction to the Chicago version was completely different from that of David R. Roediger (*ITT*, Nov. 16), who saw the play in St. Louis. I understand that the play has been changed a great deal since then, which may account for the standing ovation in Chicago.

From Roediger's review, my greatest concern was about the politics; did it truthfully reflect Robeson's thoughts and actions in the 1930's, '40s and '50s? Having participated in the political and social struggles of these times (with

Robeson in some of them), I approached the play with a good deal of trepidation.

There is nothing wrong with the politics of the play. It truly reflected the anti-fascist struggle of those times, against Hitler, racism and for peace and Robeson's leadership role. The meaning of Naziism in Germany, the centrality of the struggle in Spain, the anti-fascist position of the Soviet Union and the need for the unity of all peoples against fascism and appeasement, all stand out very clearly through Robeson's words and deeds. The thought that if the world only had listened and followed Robeson, the lives of millions of people would have been saved kept running through my mind.

Other political aspects of Robeson were also clear in the play. His understanding and identification with the black people of Africa in their struggles for freedom, his fight against Jim-Crow and racism in the U.S., his courageous stand against the cold war, McCarthyism and the House UnAmerican Activities Committee (HUAC), all came through without any ambiguity. All these political struggles were in the second act.

Portraying a man as great as Paul truthfully reflect Robeson's thoughts and actions in the 1930s, '40s and '50s? Having participated in the political and social struggles of these times (with Robeson against the background of his times is very difficult. It seems to me

James Earl Jones gives an excellent performance. For those who knew Paul Robeson as a man bigger than life, a unique person, well, only Robeson could play Robeson. Perhaps this is the heart of the artistic problem of the play—and there is no solution to that.

The play has weaknesses, but to attack its present version, which shows the history of a great man, one of the outstanding leaders and artists of his time, one of the greatest leaders of the fight against fascism and racism in the '30s, '40s and '50s, is to do a disservice to Paul Robeson. All supporters for freedom, justice, equality should see the play, support it, help develop it further. As I left the theater, I thought, one cannot understand the civil rights movement of the '60s and the struggle against the war in Vietnam, without understanding the role of Paul Robeson fighting fascism and racism in the three preceding decades.

—Milton M. Cohen
Chicago

Paul Robeson, in the version seen by Milt Cohen, will open Dec. 6 at the National Theater in Washington, D.C.

Solution to last week's puzzle

A	B	E	L	S	P	A	S	M	L	O	O	P
P	O	D	A	L	E	R	O	I	I	T	S	A
O	N	E	Y	E	A	R	O	L	D	Z	E	A
S	O	R	E	A	I	S	S	L	I	M		
				R	A	I	S	E	A	R	C	S
S	D	A	S	C	H	I	N	A	P	E	L	K
K	I	S	S	E	S	I	N	D	I	R	R	A
L	A	M	A	S	E	S	T	E	S	K	O	A
A	N	A	D	P	A	T	Q	U	E	S	T	I
R	A	I	L	W	A	Y	N	T	L	A	E	F
				L	O	A	N	G	A	S	P	S
				W	R	A	P	I	T	H	E	A
D	A	M	S	C	H	A	U	T	A	U	Q	A
O	M	S	K	H	E	N	R	Y	S	U	N	G
N	I	S	I	E	N	T	E	R	S	A	K	E

More letters

Not good enough

Editor:

I am a dedicated reader of *IN THESE TIMES*, and a strong feminist. I have a serious criticism of your paper. More than any other socialist magazine I've seen you include women writers and articles on women's issues. However, you must go further than that. You must look at every subject you write on with a feminist perspective in mind, the same way you would look at an issue and question—How does this affect working class people, or minorities? Two examples of your negligence in this area are your recent coverage of the S-1 Bill and the discussion of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill in your article on the Democratic Agenda Conference.

The S-1 Bill contains (along with its many other faults) some very repressive language concerning rape. In it a rape performed by the victim's husband or the man she lives with is *not considered a criminal offense*.

In discussing the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, Dan Marshall quotes the Black Caucus and Urban League leaders (both very male-dominated groups), yet makes no mention of the impact the bill will have on women. Throughout the two-year development of the bill, women's groups—notably the Women's Lobby and the League of Women Voters—worked with the bill to make it more responsive to the employment needs of the 9.2 percent unemployed female population.

—Kit Miller
Washington, D.C.

International Womens Year in Houston

Sisterhood triumphed in Houston. But by itself it will not be enough. History is made by those with power.

Continued from page 3.

the National Plan of Action, which includes support for federal funding of abortions for poor women, family planning services for teenagers and sex education in the schools, provoked the most emotional debate of the conference.

Right-to-lifers sported glossy photos of aborted fetuses, and called the resolution the "antithesis of the women's movement" because it promotes the "oppression of the less powerful."

The abortion vote was probably the "closest" of the conference, but at least 75 percent of the delegates rose in favor of a woman's right to choose.

Veteran feminists who have participated in dozens of conferences addressing the same issues uniformly noted at least one significant difference in Houston—the overwhelming acknowledgement by delegates of lesbian rights as a women's issue.

The resolution on sexual preference, debated and passed in a relatively short period of time, supports civil rights for homosexuals, the repeal of laws restricting private sexual behavior between consenting adults and the prohibition of a parent's sexual preference as a consideration in child custody cases. (Similar resolutions were adopted at 30 state and territorial meetings, largely because of organizing efforts coordinated by the women's caucus of the National Gay Task Force.)

During debate, only one speaker made it to a microphone to denounce homosexuality as anti-family and contrary to "natural law," while two speakers urged defeat of the resolution on the grounds that gay rights is an "inappropriate" issue for the women's movement, and that public acknowledgement of it as a serious concern would further impede ERA ratification.

The latter arguments, which have had

widespread acceptance in women's movement circles for years, were rejected in Houston. Former NOW president Betty Friedan, previously a vocal proponent of the old line, urged support for lesbian rights as a women's issue, noting that the ERA by itself would "do nothing for homosexuals."

Other speakers reminded the delegates that lesbians have worked tirelessly for years in the movement on the full range of feminist issues, and that the fundamental philosophical basis of the movement is a woman's right to choose how she will live, and to control her own body, a concept which clearly must include the right to exercise one's sexual preference.

Straight feminists who earlier translated their own fears into political "reality" have apparently learned that the opposition will call *any* woman who dares to challenge the patriarchy on *any* grounds a lesbian, no matter what she calls herself or how she lives. The overwhelming acceptance of the sexual preference resolution by the very diverse group of women meeting at the NWC hopefully implies a new level of pro-woman awareness and unity.

The threatened right-wing disruption of the NWC itself failed to materialize, although some 10,000 people did attend a counter rally at the Houston Astro-Arena.

Right-wing political elements, as well as anti-abortionists and religious conservatives had descended *en masse* at several of the state IWY meetings—stalling plenary sessions, disrupting workshops, electing some delegates and passing anti-woman resolutions. These tactics were largely unsuccessful, however, in all but a few states, and the right controlled less than 20 percent of the voting body at the NWC.

The "pro-life, pro-family coalition" as these delegates called themselves, succeeded in some attempts at parliamentary delay, and made a substantial amount of noise during debate on ERA, abortion, child care and lesbian rights, but generally failed to influence proceedings in any substantive way. (The right-wing presence at the conference did serve to draw other delegates closer together.) Substitute motions and amendments were prepared on almost every issue, but few reached the floor.

The minority complained constantly of being "railroaded" and not having their opinions heard, but as one femin-

ist sitting in a divided delegation put it, "They never got out of their chairs." Of 24 anti-ERA delegates in the Illinois contingent, for example, only three ever made it to the microphone in all four plenary sessions.

More significant, perhaps, than the minority's strategy (or lack of it) during the plenary sessions, was its rhetoric. For the first time in a women's movement arena, the focus on abstract "ideals" of family and exalted womanhood gave way to ringingly clear expression of more traditional right-wing concerns. A compilation of proposed substitute motions circulated to the press calls for provision of social services by the private, volunteer sector, decreased federal regulation and spending and the return of government control to the state and local level. The document is also riddled with homages to the "free enterprise economic system."

Similarly, in floor debate on the ERA, con speakers passed over the specter of unisex toilets and young mothers in combat zones to denounce instead "section two" of the proposed constitutional amendment, which gives Congress legislative enforcement authority. This would lead, opponents said, to further federal intrusion on individual rights.

Some political observers have been suggesting for some time that the right-wing has targeted the women's movement because it needs a platform from which to gain public visibility and, by playing on emotional issues, promote an entire political agenda.

The analysis was brought into sharp relief, and the links of the right-wing political coalition now in the process of formation became eminently clear in Houston—as delegates sprinkled across the floor rose together again and again to vote against every issue except enforcement of the Equal Credit Opportunity Act, as ERA opponents wept for aborted fetuses, as right-to-lifers denounced child care centers and social security for homemakers.

As speaker after speaker ascended the rostrum, delegates heard the Houston conference called an "historic" event. The NWC was likened again and again to the first national women's rights convention, held in Seneca Falls, N.Y., in 1848. Many were anxious to draw parallels between the first, suffragist wave of

American feminism and the current rebirth of women's struggle.

Houston was historic, at the very least as the first congressionally mandated and publicly funded national women's meeting ever held. With national attention focused upon them, the largest and most diverse group of women ever to meet together on their concerns as women reached consensus on a broad range of policy issues.

The potentially enormous impact of the modern feminist movement was made abundantly clear as members of women's organizations of the political center, union women, staunch feminists, civil rights activists and elected officials—people who only a few short years ago couldn't even agree on the need for ERA—joined hands in an attempt to place women's equality squarely on the American political agenda.

Whether we will succeed, how Congress and the President will respond to the NWC recommendations, what the effect of anti-women right-wing escalation will be, remains to be seen.

If history was made in Houston, it is also in the making in Congress, where men debate women's right to choose; in the state legislatures where ERA ratification is stalled; in the courts, where affirmative action is under attack and in the job market, where women still earn only 59 cents for every dollar earned by men.

Sisterhood triumphed in Houston, and women's consciousness and spirit are wonderful indeed. But by themselves they are not enough. History is made by those who have power.

The National Women's Conference was perhaps the strongest affirmation ever that American women do share common concerns, and that by joining together can force attention to those concerns. We must continue to do that.

Karen Wellisch is editor and publisher of *The Spokeswoman*, an independent feminist monthly published at 53 W. Jackson, Suite 525, Chicago, IL 60604. *The Spokeswoman* includes national news on employment, legislation, abortion, education, health and other issues, plus book reviews, reports from Washington, political analysis and feature stories. Subscriptions are \$12/year (\$20 when paid by institutional check).

Progress on the Humphrey-Hawkins bill

Continued from page 4.

etta Scott King, also a co-director of the council, noting that the agreement doesn't "spell out every detail."

But the widow of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. firmly maintained that the bill would have the desired effects. "Once the President sets some goals, which he has to do, then he'll be in serious trouble if he doesn't reach them," she said.

Kenneth Young, associate director of legislation for the AFL-CIO, stressed that the Humphrey-Hawkins framework was "only a first step" toward full employment in the first place. "We're not fooling ourselves... this is not a job-creating bill *per se*," said Young. "We're going to have to enact the economic stimulus programs that would actually provide the jobs."

Supporters frankly acknowledged the possibility that the President—and Congress—could simply pay lip service to the planning requirements in the bill without making substantive efforts to bring unemployment down.

"You can't impeach the President if a goal isn't reached," said economist Leon Keyserling, who helped draft the present version.

But, emphasizing the use of the targets as a yardstick against which to measure performance, supporters clearly intended to make it politically difficult for either branch to ignore the requirements.

Business interests, which still found much to dislike about the measure, were similarly dismayed to see the new version

portrayed as harmless.

"We feel it's a hoax—telling people they'll be provided with useful jobs," said Millicent Woods of the legislative staff of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. "The bill still makes a lot of promises that aren't deliverable by the government."

Jack Carlson, the Chamber's chief economist, claimed it would cost the government at least \$30 billion to meet the goals of the current proposal and predicted double-digit inflation and higher taxes would result. Carlson further faulted the planning requirements for significantly adding to government regulation of the economy.

The agreement was not instantly condemned by all business groups, however. The Business Roundtable, though critical of the previous versions, had not yet decided about this one.

Revised provisions.

During their negotiations with Carter, supporters of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill reworked the last version (HR-50) approved by the House Education and Labor committee in 1976 and reintroduced in January. Sponsors plan to submit new legislation containing the Carter-supported provisions when regular sessions of Congress resume.

Despite Carter's endorsement of HR-50 during his campaign, it took considerable prodding from black leaders and other Humphrey-Hawkins supporters to win Carter's backing this time. Even after the campaign pledge, Carter kept his

distance from the controversial bill, and his top economic advisers were openly hostile to it.

Compared with HR-50, the new version strove for a more flexible attitude toward the planning requirements, allowing the President to determine appropriate mixes of strategies without outlining a use for each type of program each year.

Other differences involved the anti-inflation provisions. Price stability targets, for example, were added to the list of economic goals, though supporters insisted that the unemployment targets took precedence.

In summary, the version agreed to by Carter:

- Declared a federal policy commitment to full employment, balanced growth, price stability and related objectives, directing the use of "all practicable means toward such ends."

- Declared a right to "useful paid employment at fair rates of compensation" for all Americans "able, willing and seeking to work."

- Declared inflation "a major national problem" likely to require special efforts in addition to anti-inflationary monetary and fiscal policies. Suggestions for supplementary approaches included productivity and supply incentives, stockpiling of critical materials, changes in federal regulatory requirements, and strengthening of antitrust enforcement.

- Required the President every year, as

part of his annual economic report, to designate numerical targets for employment, unemployment, production, real income and productivity. Goals on all items were to be laid out, year by year, over a five-year period.

- Set interim goals of 4 percent unemployment among all workers (aged 16 and older) and 3 percent unemployment among adults aged 20 and over, to be achieved within five years of passage of the bill.

- Permitted the President to modify the unemployment goals or timetables if, at least three years after enactment, any of them appeared unreasonable.

- Required the President to submit a budget compatible with the yearly targets.

- Required a thorough description from the President of the approaches and specific programs needed to reach the targets.

- Listed such options as public works, public service employment, anti-recession aid to states and cities, programs for depressed areas, training, counseling and special youth programs for the administration to consider.

- Required the government to create additional jobs directly—through new or existing programs—if its other efforts to achieve the unemployment goals failed.

- Stipulated that any jobs available through the programs set up by the bill pay at least the minimum wage and no less than the amounts earned by others doing the same work for the same employer.

LIFE IN THE U.S.

THE PRESS

Investigative reports kill nomination

By Chuck Fager

WASHINGTON—On Nov. 11, the Carter administration abruptly withdrew the nomination of Robert Mendelsohn of San Francisco to the number two slot in the Department of the Interior. The nomination was killed because of a suit by the California Fair Political Practices Commission alleging that Mendelsohn was involved in an illegal campaign funds laundering scheme.

But the press didn't report that the suit, and the investigation that produced it, were both sparked by a dogged eight-month investigative reporting campaign by a small weekly, the San Francisco *Bay Guardian*. The silence about the *Bay Guardian*'s role was loudest in Mendelsohn's two hometown dailies, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and the afternoon *Examiner*. The *Examiner* devoted almost three pages to the story without a mention of its weekly competition.

When Bruce Brugmann, *Bay Guardian* editor, initially spoke out editorially against Mendelsohn's proposed nomination on March 17, he was alone in doing so. Brugmann asserted that Mendelsohn was "no guardian of natural resources," but had a long history of voting for special interests as a San Francisco City Supervisor and a member of the state coastal commission. Mendelsohn had shown special concern, Brugman charged, for big corporations and developers who had contributed to his political campaigns.

Sad case.

"Mendelsohn's is a sad case," Brugmann concluded. "He's largely the victim of a system that puts him, without independent wealth or an outside profession, to the wolves on a \$9,600 supervisor's salary. But he must be held accountable for the wrong turns he's taken and for the big national job he's after."

When the *Bay Guardian* followed up its opening editorial with a series of investigative articles detailing Mendelsohn's more than \$285,000 in unpaid campaign debts, the *Chronicle* printed his explanations without making any further inquiries. In response to the *Guardian*'s detailed analysis of the gaps and conflicts in Mendelsohn's various public financial statements, the dailies boomed his plans to hold a private fund-raising dinner to pay off the debts in late April.

Brugmann responded by taking his charges on April 29 to the California Fair Political Practices Commission (FPPC) in Sacramento. The FPPC, established by referendum in 1974 as a reaction to the Watergate scandal, has broad investigative powers in cases of possible campaign irregularities. Brugmann also asked the San Francisco District Attorney's office to probe the inconsistencies in Mendelsohn's sworn campaign finance records for possible perjury.

The dailies' response was to print Mendelsohn's explanations of how he had reduced the \$285,000 debt to about \$40,000 by a combination of revised arithmetic, forgiven loans, new contributions and a mortgage on his house.

Discoveries.

But outside San Francisco the charges were beginning to be heard and by early June Mendelsohn's nomination had begun to come apart.

Early that month, an investigator for the FPPC named Richard Miller was going over one of Mendelsohn's lists of campaign contributors, and noticed that one name, that of Mrs. Louise Drob of San Pedro, had a line of white liquid erasure beneath it. Miller wondered if that meant some other name had been blotted out and replaced. He held the sheet up to the light; sure enough, a different name was under-



Janet Fries

Had it not been for the dogged determination of the San Francisco *Bay Guardian*, Robert Mendelsohn (above) would easily have sailed through Senate confirmation hearings.

neath, that of William Grader.

Miller knew he was onto something important. Drob's occupation was listed as a "telephone operator"; yet she had given \$16,500 to a Mendelsohn campaign for state treasurer in 1974. How she could afford such a sum, and why she would donate it to a political campaign were unclear. Grader, on the other hand, had plenty of interest in Mendelsohn, and as a successful fish wholesaler and real estate operator in the northern California town of Fort Bragg, he had money to spare.

The contribution of \$16,500 had been "laundered," and someone involved in the preparation of Mendelsohn's financial records had been in on the scheme.

What Miller and the FPPC ultimately discovered was a complex funds-laundering scheme designed to disguise the source of \$26,500 in contributions to a Mendelsohn campaign committee in 1974 from Transcentury Properties, Inc., a developer seeking approval for a large housing development in a coastal town named Bodega Bay.

Mendelsohn was a member of the California Coastal Commission at the time, and he had initially opposed the Transcentury development. After the laundered contribution, however, he became its staunchest advocate, ultimately winning approval for the proposal.

A rush to get approval.

Rumors of what the FPPC was finding surfaced by midsummer, as did word from the White House that if the investigation produced charges against Mendelsohn personally, his nomination was sunk. But before the commission could complete its probe, Mendelsohn and his political friends almost managed to push the nomination through the Senate. On June 14, Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus was quoted in the *Examiner* as saying the only opposition came from an "illegitimate little scab paper," referring to an unsuccessful

strike at the *Bay Guardian* in 1976. But *The Guardian*'s continuing flow of embarrassing revelations helped delay a vote on Andrus' protege.

Pressure was put on the FPPC to issue a report by Aug. 1 so the nomination could be considered by the Senate.

The FPPC wrote Sen. Henry Jackson, chairman of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, which was handling the nomination, Aug. 2, saying that it had uncovered serious violations by Mendelsohn's campaign committee, but had found nothing on Mendelsohn himself thus far.

The letter added that it was not intended to support or oppose his confirmation, but the *Examiner*'s front page headline declared: "Mendelsohn Cleared."

Late in August, Mendelsohn reportedly moved his belongings to a new residence in the Washington area, after telling his friends in the Bay Area that confirmation was "in the bag."

But the Senate went on vacation almost as soon as the letter was issued, and could not act on the nomination until September. By then, with the Bert Lance affair embarrassing the Senate by throwing light on the holes in its confirmation processes, the nomination was put on hold until the FPPC report was finally completed.

Blockbuster report.

Twice the FPPC promised a report on a certain date, and twice missed its deadline. Sen. Jackson got tired of the delays and said in late October he would hold hearings and proceed to vote on Nov. 3, report or no.

On Nov. 1 Brugmann wired the senators on the committee, and went into court in Sacramento, seeking to force the FPPC to release its evidence in time for the Senate hearing.

The court said no, but on the same date the FPPC's chairman, Daniel Lowenstein, wrote to Jackson promising a report by

Nov. 11. One last time Jackson delayed the vote.

The report, issued on Friday, Nov. 11, was a blockbuster:

Lowenstein announced that the commission would file suit the following Monday against Mendelsohn, his campaign treasurer Benjamin Swig, William Grader, Transcentury Properties Inc., and the company's president, William Chamberlain. The suit would charge that "\$26,500 in laundered funds were funneled into Mendelsohn's... campaign... and that a conspiracy to cover up the true source of the money still exists."

The suit would ask for \$80,684 in damages. It was not predicated on Mendelsohn's actually having known of the scheme, but Lowenstein ticked off a long list of circumstantial indications that led him to believe that "the evidence in this case points clearly to a conclusion that Mr. Mendelsohn knew the Drob and Grader (contributions) were falsely reported...."

Reaction from Washington was swift. Cecil Andrus issued a short, angry statement, repeating that "I believe strongly that once all the facts are presented in a court of law, Bob's innocence will be conclusively established...." Once that was done, Andrus said he intended to resubmit the nomination, "early next year."

Mendelsohn called the suit a "total cop-out." He announced that during the summer he had even taken a lie detector test to support his contention that he knew nothing of the source of the laundered funds. (The FPPC took note of the results, but pointed out that such data were not admissible in California courts.) He said he intended to "fight [the suit] with every fiber of my being..." But that in the meantime it would be "unfair" to leave his nomination pending, so he had asked Andrus to ask the President to withdraw it.

Chuck Fager is a free-lance writer in Washington.

SPORTS

So what's wrong with the Celtics?

By Bob Young
BOSTON—I'm more amused than upset about what has happened to the Boston Celtics. As a matter of fact, as a transplanted New Yorker living in this town, I kind of enjoy all this talk of a "demise." A Knick fan forever, you know.

Since it's difficult to live in Boston and read the sports pages without having to lumber through yet another analysis piece on the Celtics, however, I have no choice but to react. My God, the season was only give games old before the ink at the *Globe* and *Herald American* started flying. Alright, 1-8 is a crummy start, but the playoffs are still 73 games away. We know all about the Celts having six or seven "All-Pros" on the squad; we've been told many times. And no question about it, Hondo is running out of steam, and Wicks' skipping training camp and showing up for the opener at San Antonio didn't help matters. But give the team a break, folks—it's still pretty early.

Celtic fans and sports writers in this town have been weaned on Coach Red Auerbach's credo, "Celtic Pride." It's become second nature. "Of course the Celtics are always tough," you'll hear in any bar. "They've got tradition and pride."

Well, pride doesn't buy much food nowadays. The hip young pro of the Carter years knows that score and wants the coin, up front if you please. The ball-player/businessman of the '70s is the thing. He's a hardass most of the time, but he's just playing by the rules someone else set up.

At some point along the line, though, someone forgot to tell Red Auerbach—or he chose to ignore the fact—that the significance of Celtic Green had undergone a bit of an evolutionary change. There's nothing wrong with the hard work, pride and teamwork that form the basis of Celtic basketball. When those ideals are applied and administered well, no more admirable concept of the game could be conceived of.

But Auerbach, Tommy Heinsohn and the writers forgot to take into account that the ballplayers they're presently berating probably know the value of those intangible inspirations as well as anyone. JoJo White, Havlicek and Dave Cowens certainly do. They don't need to be called "quitters" in print like Auerbach recently did. They also know that public humiliation by management is a desperate ploy to get a team fired up. Any player who has haggled over a contract with the front office for months isn't going to jump up wild-eyed and innocent because of a plea to "pride." He may get fired up with resentment when embarrassed and humiliated—but that route has its pitfalls.

The danger in resorting to that device is that it has become redundant. The press had declared, though, that it's worked once again this time: the Celtics have won two in a row as of this writing and things are starting to look rosier. But the bad taste is still there and it's not easy to forget.

Auerbach has a problem that isn't going to go away with a few victories or cries for one last effort for the Big Green. The team is just not as hot as the brass makes out.

Cowens is incredible, but he's literally run into the ground by the end of the season. A 6'8" center with no adequate replacement has to work that much harder. Havlicek is still magnificent but only in spots now. White ranks with the best but Charlie Scott is inconsistent and not the best complement to White. Dave Bing was a burner extraordinaire at one time but an eye operation and age have taken an obvious toll.

And the UCLA stars Sidney Wicks and Curtis Rowe are just not all they're cracked up to be. Rowe is still stiff and unable consistently to get into the flow, while Wicks can grab a bunch of rebounds at one end but give them away at the other with very un-Celtic shot selection,

a bad habit he picked up becoming an All-Star in Portland.

One bright spot at forward is rookie Cedric Maxwell, who is actually starting at that position right now, but who will need a good season under his belt before he can be a steady contributor. Unfortunately for the Celtics, the rest of the bench just doesn't offer that much, some of which can be blamed on their paucity of playing time.

The organization generally balks at the idea of breaking new players into "the Celtic system." Granted, that system is more intricate and well-honed than many other offenses and defenses around the league, but a player needs that playing time in order to really learn the ropes. This year's waiving of Norm Cook of

Kansas is a case in point. The team was high on Cook last year but never gave him a chance to show anything in a game. He sat out most of the year.

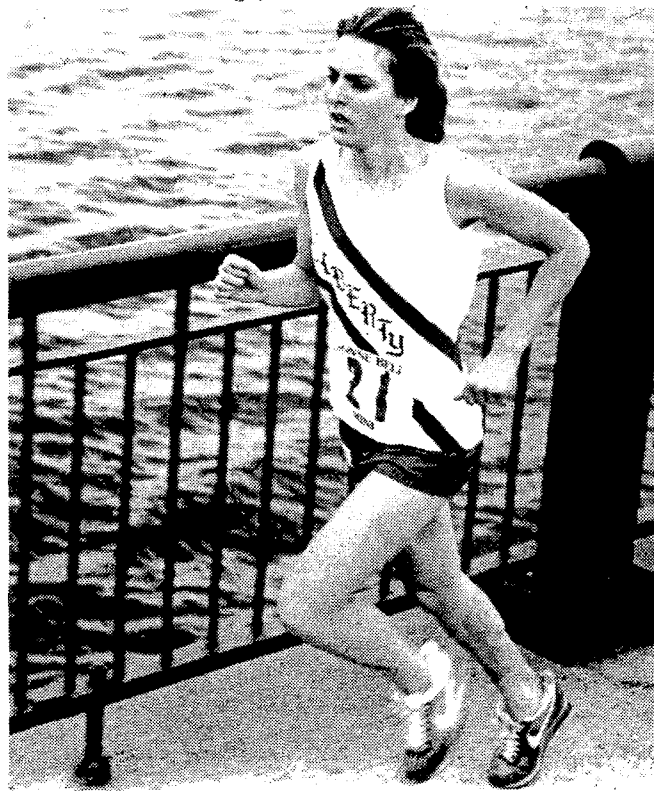
Auerbach runs things by his own rules. You don't cross the boss in Boston. He personally may appreciate and truly long for the execution of the team concept for its own sake but he's doing plenty of thinking about the investment-minded clubowners in the next row.

Fitz Dixon, owner of the 76ers, makes no bones about his aims. He bought a team and he expects to buy a championship with his purchase. That makes complete corporate sense even if it is a callous, unintelligent way of going about the game of basketball. No pretensions in Philly—at least not like Beantown fans

have to put up with.

Unfortunately pro basketball has lost some of its soul in the '70s to that silver dollar in the sky. Every average-boosting garbage jam at the end of a game means another figure on that bottom line come contract time. The self-oriented style of the players is not a welcome sight, but although the Celtics will still theoretically adhere to the admirable virtue of team play, the front office utterances defending tradition are more cheapening in the long run than the ignorant monetary cat-calls of a Fitz Dixon. If the team is playing poor basketball, tell them and tell the press, but don't exhort the gods of tradition.

Bob Young is a free-lance writer in Cambridge, Mass.



Left: Susan Ryder, 16, resting after the race; right: winner Lynn Jennings; below: Linda Adams, 24, and Karen Lein, 19.

Running with Bonne Bell

By Anita Diamant
BOSTON—Bonne Bell, the cosmetics firm, is pushing running harder than its own products. Mini-marathons sponsored by the company are being held in cities all over the country, attracting superb athletes, weekend joggers and massive publicity.

As a result of its Columbus Day Mini-Marathon here, the *Boston Globe* featured a 9x5-inch picture of the race on its front page. News of the marathon dominated the sports pages of both local papers, captured prime news time on all local media and remained a subject of public discussion for a week.

Bonne Bell also got a lot of goodwill and relatively cheap advertising.

According to media grapevine, Bonne Bell president Jess Bell attributes his personal happiness and success to running. He claims it saved him from divorce, alcoholism and despair.

Running for women is advanced by Bonne Bell with the fervor of a religious mission, bringing exercise to women to help them get into shape, feel stronger, more confident, freer...and to buy more Bonne Bell cosmetics.

The Boston race was a seriously staged, fully mounted media-event. There was a breakfast so the press could get a packet of information about "which runners to watch" (both athletes and human interest). There was a truck so members of the press could get good pictures. There was a reception for press and other VIPs after the race where, along with the wine and crackers, copies of *Us* magazine were distributed. (*Us* is the new New York Times publication designed to compete with *People*, and, with *Pernod*, a co-sponsor of the race.)

The finish-line grandstand was "graced" with an odium of local politicians and at least half a dozen Farrah Fawcett-Majors

Photos/Peggy McMahon



Running for women is advanced by Bonne Bell with religious fervor. It also helps sell more cosmetics.

look-alikes in coordinate sweat-suits and expensive (but clean) running shoes.

Lynn Jennings finished the 6.2 mile course in 34:31, Patti LaTora came in second and Kim Merritt finished third. Then the real drama began. Of the 2,007 women who ran the race, 2,004 crossed the finish line. Some of them ran in smiling and laughing. Others ended in obvious pain. A few were crying. Some women hugged each other.

By and large, the field was composed of individual women who began running only recently. For many it was the longest distance they had ever run. And for most, it was their first real race since grade school.

Before the noon starting gun, crowds of women stretched and warmed up on the grass. Many had come alone and

some struck up spontaneous friendships, trading running histories and the nervous excitement building up to 12:00. During the race, women called encouragement to one another, and even demanded cheers from the hundreds of spectators who lined the route along the Charles River.

Everyone seemed happy that men couldn't enter the race.

"2,300 women (the number signed up to run). I just like to say it," said one entry. "The fact that it's all women made me want to run." "My goal is just to finish," said another woman. "I don't feel competitive. There's a camaraderie here—it's for fun." "Racing with guys, you get patronized."

As State Rep. Elaine Noble came off the grandstand, she echoed the universal approval of the race by all the participants. But, she added, "We should do this ourselves," without the sponsorship of Bonne Bell or any corporation.

But as it stands now, women's running depends on the "generosity" of big business. The Boston race was sanctioned as the AAU Women's New England Championship. Lynn Jennings' Olympic changes improved 100 percent as a result of being seen.

Of course, the longest race for women in the Olympic games is 1,500 meters (the "mini-marathons" are 10,000 meters). That leaves long distance and cross-country women runners out of the world's most prestigious amateur competition. But the growing interest in distance running and the emergence of top-caliber runners may eventually force the Olympic Committee to include longer women's races in the competitions.

Bonne Bell's involvement will certainly help that kind of change along.

Anita Diamant writes regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

Records



Neil Young with guitar.

DECADE

Neil Young
(Reprise)

Neil Young, the Canadian who has played in such all-American bands as Buffalo Springfield and Crazy Horse, has released one of the most comprehensive "greatest hits" packages ever: three albums—almost two and a half hours of his songs from 1966 to last year.

His best-known songs are here, from the Springfield's "Burned" to the Young/Crazy Horse "Cinnamon Girl," the Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young "Helpless," and a generous helping of his solo work, such as the title tune from *Harvest* and the chilling "To night's the Night."

His voice and guitar are unique. Not pretty nor used to complement each other, their tension is deeply moving. When Young laments the overdose death of his friend Danny Whitten in a flat, bent voice, he aims straight for the heart and scores.

At his best, Young has been able to delineate sorrow better than any other rock writer. If Dylan is rock's political visionary as well as its chief purveyor of pathos and irony, Young has the ground covered when it comes to pain and compassion.

He's no slouch at the downside of love, either. "Like a Hurricane," previously unreleased, is abrasive, nearly chaotic, its musical looseness encompassing its central paradox:

*You are just a dreamer and I
am just a dream
You could have been anyone
to me.*

What is lasting in Young's work is his fearlessness in confronting the gnarls of intimacy, love's pitfalls, the meaninglessness of the political pitch. His "Love Is a Rose," unlike the prettier version by Linda Ronstadt, is dark, brooding, hopeless. There's none of the coyness that ultimately demeans Ronstadt's version. The tune turns out loose and strong.

Early on, Young came across as a loner, a person who could not connect. His solitary state was ambiguous and that ambiguity gave richness to his work. On "Down by the River," he shoots/loses his "baby." One does not know if the baby is himself or his love; perhaps they're one and the same. The tune doesn't end.

Later, he explores the nightmare of political paranoia that

culminated with the 1969 Kent State shooting, giving rise to the CSNY "Ohio," as much an anthem of the late '60s as Joni Mitchell's "Woodstock." On the album notes Young says he can't believe he "had to write" that tune, capitalizing on what he calls the strongest lesson ever taught at an American school. In one of his stranger songs, "Campaigner," Young imagines a place where "even Richard Nixon has got soul." That fantasy outlines the underside of his anger.

Young has sometimes been hard to take; his reedy voice has seemed more whine than cry; his compassion patronizing instead of embracing. On such albums as *On the Beach* and *Tonight's The Night* he has come uncomfortably close to self-pity.

His art is complex, difficult, infused with a humanity that can embarrass. But that humanity is precisely what forces his listeners to respond, to bring their feelings into the foreground with him.

Focusing on truth rather than show, Young is able to translate his understanding of emotion into memorable music and compel a new kind of hearing and comprehension. A pioneer on the frontiers of feeling, he goes beyond wearing his heart on his sleeve. He puts it on the line.

—Carlo Wolff

EDDIE MONEY

Eddie Money
(Columbia)

Eddie Money is the real thing: a true blue rocker, with pizzazz to match his passion.

His arrogance is appealing; his rock talent, remarkable. He and his gifted band (particularly guitarist Jimmy Lyons) cover—and transform — The Miracles' "You've Really Got a Hold on Me" to touch those who haven't heard the original. The lead into the song is pure Eddie Money, a slow build, with Eddie's "Hey!" putting the listener on pleasure notice.

His "Ramblin' Man" is based on Bob Seger's "Ramblin' Gamblin' Man," but it's tighter, purer—and one of the minor songs on this album.

Eddie sings of the streets. Like his predecessor, Bruce Springsteen, he's in love with the city, with the mystery of falling in love, finding the time for romance in the midst of the hustle: "Baby, Hold On"; "So Good to Be in Love Again."

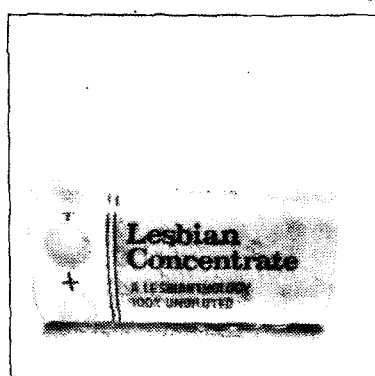
Eddie's main backer, San Francisco promoter Bill Graham, says he put his money on Money because he's "hungry." Eddie is—he wants to be a rock star, says he's wanted that since he was a kid.

He believes in his future, in romance, in pleasure. And, like an unusually well-edited and stylish Springsteen, his beliefs are transmitted with joy.

Listening, at first you may hear the influences: rhythm and blues, modern white urban rock, the sweet spaciness of Steve Miller. But 20 listens later, you'll know you're hooked on an original.

—Carlo Wolff

Carlo Wolff reviews music regularly for IN THESE TIMES.



LESBIAN CONCENTRATE

Meg Christian and others
(Olivia Records)

*Cause we're women loving women
we'll sing it loud and long
Yes, we're sisters united
in a love that's oh, so strong
Some say our craze is an Amazon phase
but soon they'll see
That we're women loving women
And that's all we'll be.*

That is just one of the songs and poems that make up Olivia Records' newest lesbian anthology. (cf ITT, Aug. 24, for coverage of Olivia and other feminist recording companies.)

Lesbian Concentrate is 100 percent undiluted.

The women at Olivia wanted to answer Anita Bryant's recent loud-mouthing, and their response has taken the form of a beautiful, richly talented album. Each song and poem glows with power.

As I listened to 11 different artists proclaim their pride through their words and music, I found myself singing along with the songs, finding new strength in being a woman.

Pat Parker delivers a poem guaranteed to hit everyone in the gut. It is entitled "For the straight folks who don't mind gays but wish they wouldn't be so blatant."

*...blatant heterosexuals are all
over the place
supermarkets, movies, TV,
books, every place
and they want gay men and women
to hide in the closet
so to you straight folks I say,
Sure I'll go if you go too
but I'm polite, so after you.*

Lesbian Concentrate, in my opinion is not just for lesbians. It is for anyone who appreciates high quality in their records. And I mean high quality in both music and lyrics.

—Karen Morrill

Karen Morrill teaches in an alternative school in Chicago.

Olivia Records can be contacted at Box 70237, Los Angeles, CA 90070.

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Ed Sadlowski



NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES

Dan Marschall looks at the shakeup at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; how Ken Cockrel, a leftwing black lawyer, won a city council seat in Detroit;

the AFL-CIO prepares for its yearly convention; Somoza's rule in Nicaragua imperiled; smashed hopes for an international law of the sea.

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TELEVISION

Why so few independent feature films?

"Everyone assumes that independent filmmakers like us have it easy in the U.S. The truth is, it's probably harder to make a film that makes a serious statement and get it distributed here than anywhere in the world."

Eugene Corr and Steve Wax, co-directors of *Over-Under, Sideways-Down*, (reviewed in *IN THESE TIMES*, Nov. 28) were discussing the reception of their film at the recent Chicago International Film Festival.

Chicago critics praised it in print. There were several jury members who voted it the festival's best feature. But it won no awards. There was, it is rumored, more enthusiasm within the jury for encouraging socialist filmmakers "who are being hassled by their governments."

"They ought to be encouraged, of course," said Wax. "But I don't think most people understand what an independent filmmaker is up against in the U.S. Just consider the fact that ours was the only American film in competition in this festival. In the country where motion pictures really took off!"

Despite Hollywood's past glory, Corr does not believe there is a tradition of independent, socially-conscious filmmaking in this country. "I really don't understand why there isn't. There should be sufficient talent and sufficient wealth—even though it costs a lot to capitalize a film."

The major roadblock, as both men see it, is the lack of a distribution network to get films like *Over-Under, Sideways-Down* to the audience for which they are intended.

How to get the film out of the can.

The story of *Over-Under* is that of a factory worker and his wife: his problems on the assembly line in a steel plant; his dream of escaping to the life of a professional baseball player; the strain produced on the marriage by the wife's decision to get a job.

Clearly there is a big potential audience for a film in which working class Americans can see their own experience treated seriously and dramatically. Such films are being made today. (Wax named four others beside his own, all nearly ready for release.) The trick



is to get them into theaters in the neighborhoods where most Americans go for entertainment.

One possibility is to book as second feature to one of the "exploitation" films commonly shown in drive-ins. (*ITT*, July 13, p. 22.) Another is to show it in the "art houses" that concentrate on European features, but do sometimes show independently produced American films. (*Harlan County, U.S.A.* is currently being distributed in this kind of house by Cinema V.)

"But at this point," Wax told *IN THESE TIMES*, "the art houses have their pick of the best features from all over the world. They can fill their house at a high admission price. So why should they fool around with us?"

The result of this situation is that independent filmmakers frequently assume the burden of distributing their own product—"four walling," as it is called. It is a killing burden.

"You put in the work of a lifetime making the film and then

you have to spend the same amount of effort distributing it." Wax feels "it's not good for any human being to have to spend that many years on any single project."

The collective solution.

What has lightened the burden for Wax and Corr—at least to a degree—is their participation in Cine Manifest, a collective dedicated to the making of independent feature films.

It began in 1972, when 20 people—all of whom were working in some aspect of commercial filmmaking—got together in an old adobe house near San Francisco to discuss ways of producing full-length features. There were three scripts already in work by various members of the group, and others, including *Over-Under*, under discussion.

On Jan. 1, 1973, Cine Manifest actually came into being when seven of the original 20 began to deposit what each of them earned in a common bank account.

"It mounted up pretty quickly

because at that point we were all working, some of us at highly paid jobs," Wax recalls. Each member of the collective drew a basic salary of \$200 a month, plus rent, plus extras for those who had dependents and in certain cases, car expenses. "It was a rather complicated formula, but it worked."

What the collective provided, besides financial support, was a sounding-board for scripts-in-progress. It was at this stage that Corr found the method most helpful. ("When it worked it was wonderful; when it didn't, it was pretty dreadful.")

When a script was finished, it was sent out to contacts who might help in raising funds for production. In the case of *Over-Under*, the project was submitted to the Visions series at PBS. Although this is primarily designed to encourage higher quality TV features, a deal was made whereby Cine Manifest retained the right to distribute the film after its TV airing and Visions (PBS) provided most of the funding

(\$225,000 of a budget of \$300,000).

Once in actual production, Corr found the collective approach to filmmaking difficult. "Whatever balance between individual creativity and collective in-put had worked so well in the writing stage was gone."

Asked how decisions were made "collectively" during production, Corr recalled "the best decisions the collective made were to delegate certain responsibilities. When that happened and people carried out the responsibility, it worked well."

He is, nevertheless, not sure he wants to make another film in a collective set-up. Wax, who has a script of his own ready to shoot, is more committed to staying with Cine Manifest.

Meanwhile, both men are committed to getting *Over-Under, Sideways-Down* out of the can and on to the screen, even if they have to four-wall it.

—Janet Stevenson

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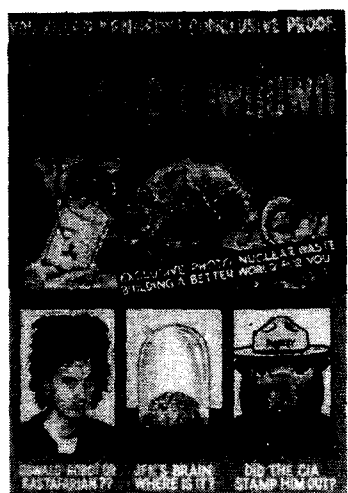
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ALBANY NY ITT will sponsor a forum on "Gynecological Surgery: Past & Present." Professor G. J. Barker-Benfield, SUNYA, author of "Horrors of the Half-Known Life," will speak. Wednesday, Dec. 7, 8 pm, at the Friends' Meeting House, 727 Madison Ave. Free, refreshments served.

HERETIC: A PARTISAN AUTOBIOGRAPHY by Stephen H. Fritchman, reviewed Aug. 3rd in IN THESE TIMES by Janet Stevenson now available in second printing. Order directly from Beacon Press, 25 Beacon St., Boston, MS 02108, \$3.95 includes mailing cost. Not available in bookstores. HERETIC is Fritchman's "lively, highly informative and valuable autobiography and is, incidentally, the book bargain of the season at \$3.95" wrote Carey McWilliams in THE NATION sept. 24th.

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FILM

Turning Point another view of love v. career

THE TURNING POINT

Directed by Herbert Ross
Written by Arthur Laurents
20th-Century Fox, Rated PG

The Turning Point is a film in the mold of the old-fashioned "tear-jerkers" melodramas, which takes the lives of three women and reduces them to the dichotomy of love (read "family") vs. career.

Anne Bancroft plays Emma, the aging but still kicking prima ballerina of the American Ballet Theater, Shirley MacLaine is Dee Dee, her old friend and one-time rival, who gave up a promising career for marriage; and Leslie Browne is Dee Dee's eldest offspring, a sweet-faced budding ballerina who gets a crack at the big time when Godmother Emma takes her under her tutu and into the company.

Instead of supporting the usual moral—that love is the wiser choice. *The Turning Point* focuses mainly on Dee Dee's yearning for the glamorous life that she can now participate in only as a ticket-holder. Her home and family are shown as comfortable but humdrum. Old ballet photos surround her like mocking ghosts from the past as she goes about the house stuffing dirty laundry in the hamper and carrying out other mundane activities.

When the ABT comes to Oklahoma and the two women are reunited after a split of many years, Dee Dee finds herself blaming Emma for having encouraged her to settle down, advice that landed her in a suburban dancing school and Emma on center-stage at the Met.

But Emma's life is not all standing ovations either. The hints that she's getting too old for her roles are dropping around her like flies. Although in lucid moments she

realizes that her retirement from the stage is overdue, Emma fights furiously against choreographers and managers and the younger dancers who threaten her sole reason for being. Her dull, long-standing affair with a married man has turned sour, and she seems destined to become a bitter, lonely person.

Emilia, the dancing daughter, goes to New York to study and finds herself at the same crossroads that led her mother and godmother down different, but equally frustrating paths. She survives a hurtful romantic entanglement with the male star of the company (Mikhail Baryshnikov) and emerges with renewed dedication to her career.

All this takes place under the implied assumption that life is a case of either/or. The generations change, but the choices remain the same...but why should they?

Anne Bancroft and Shirley MacLaine are perfectly matched opposites, both giving performances that are highly polished, yet natural (although MacLaine is required to play too many scenes with tears brimming.)

There is a lot of ballet photography, some clumsy, some excellent, but all of it entertaining. Browne and Baryshnikov won't be winning any Oscars for their acting debuts, but what they lack in dramatic prowess they make up for in their dance sequences. Baryshnikov in particular displays some of the flashy legwork for which he is deservedly famous.

Herbert Ross's direction is unhurried, with careful attention to detail. The behind-the-scenes glimpses of backstage life are real enough, and one shot of a full performance taking place while the extras stand just out of audience



Shirley MacLaine (as Dee Dee) and Anne Bancroft (as Emma)—two old friends who meet again and review the decision that made Emma a prima ballerina and Dee Dee a humdrum housewife.

view in the wings captures simultaneously the magical aspects of the ballet as well as its realistic, hard-working side. Arthur Laurent's screenplay fits his leading ladies like a leotard. Their angry exchanges during an esca-

lating fight scene are a particularly convincing blend of phony politeness and out-and-out bitching.

Although the basic point of a woman's Big Choice In Life may be an arguable one, in this case a faulty premise does not necessar-

ily lead to a wrong conclusion. *The Turning Point* is the worthy result of a lot of right choices.

—P. Hertel

P. Hertel reviews films and records regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

Another view of the American Ballet Theater

The Turning Point is something of a dance milestone.

The publicity hype (a marketing package that includes records, tapes, and a Signet paperback) and long lines outside movie theaters point to an important aspect of today's dance explosion: the fact that dance, and particularly ballet, has become big business. Supported through its lean years by public funds and matching grants, the American Ballet Theater, *The Turning Point's* "company," epitomizes what has become a disturbing national trend. The commercialization of dance institutions like ABT is reflected in increasing reliance on corporate funding and the systematic promotion of a foreign star system to insure high box office receipts.

Founded under the direction of heriess Lucia Chase (who now holds undisputed sway over ABT policy), Ballet Theater gave its first performance on Jan. 11, 1940. The aim was to build up a repertory of classics and specially commissioned American works.

In its early years the company was a showcase of native choreo-

graphic talent with a repertory that included pioneering works by Agnes de Mille, Jerome Robbins, and Michael Kidd. Equally important, Ballet Theater nurtured a generation of American dancers to rival the glamor and technique of the Europeans.

Thirty-seven years later, little is left of ABT's high ideals.

The film's opening credits roll over ABT's production of *La Bayadere* (an 1877 Russian classic recently restaged by Natalia Makarova who defected to ABT from Leningrad's Kirov Ballet in 1970). "Tradition" is the byword here, defined in the most conservative terms possible—*Giselle*, *Swan Lake*, *Le Corsaire*, and *Don Quixote*—all dating from before 1900 and showpieces of the Russian Imperial Ballet. The only American choreographer represented is Alvin Ailey.

Casting in the film reflects ABT policy, featuring foreign stars at the expense of American talent. British ballerina Antoinette Sibley performs *Giselle* and the film's "gala program" features Richard Cragun and Marcia Haydee imported from the Stuttgart Ballet.

This is not to disparage these great artists or the film's star, Mikhail Baryshnikov, indisputably one of the world's greatest dancers. But there is no reason why ABT's homegrown dancers could not have performed these cameo roles.

One result of the foreign star system has been increasing restiveness in the ABT ranks. California-born Cynthia Gregory, the company's leading American ballerina and an international star in her own right, has publicly voiced discontent with the policy.

Many dancers of soloist rank left promising careers in regional companies to join ABT. Now, as they reach the age of 30, they find themselves dancing the same roles season after season while promotion to the front ranks eludes them.

Finally, one can only wonder at the rubric "American" for a company where not a single black dancer is to be found. As Arthur Mitchell's Dance Theater of Harlem has conclusively proved, black dancers can not only do ballet, but can do it extremely well.

The Turning Point refers to cut-throat competition between dan-

cers in their drive to stardom. What it neglects to mention are the financial considerations that pressure management into promoting one particular dancer over another.

Take Leslie Browne.

The role she plays in the film was originally given to Gelsey Kirkland, one of ABT's leading dancers. During the course of the filming, Kirkland was dropped from the cast (for reasons that ranged from an untimely sunburn to unexpected loss of weight) and was replaced by Browne, who was at the same time taken into the company with the rank of soloist.

Although a dancer of promise, Browne is no prodigy. She is, however, the godchild of Nora Kaye, one of the Ballet Theater's founding members and the film's executive producer, since appointed associate artistic director of the company.

Leslie Browne's entry into the company is said to be related to infusions of West Coast money into ABT coffers. It may also be that the prominence of Russian defectors makes the company ap-

pealing to big-money contributors as interested in drawing attention to dissidence abroad as in promoting the arts at home.

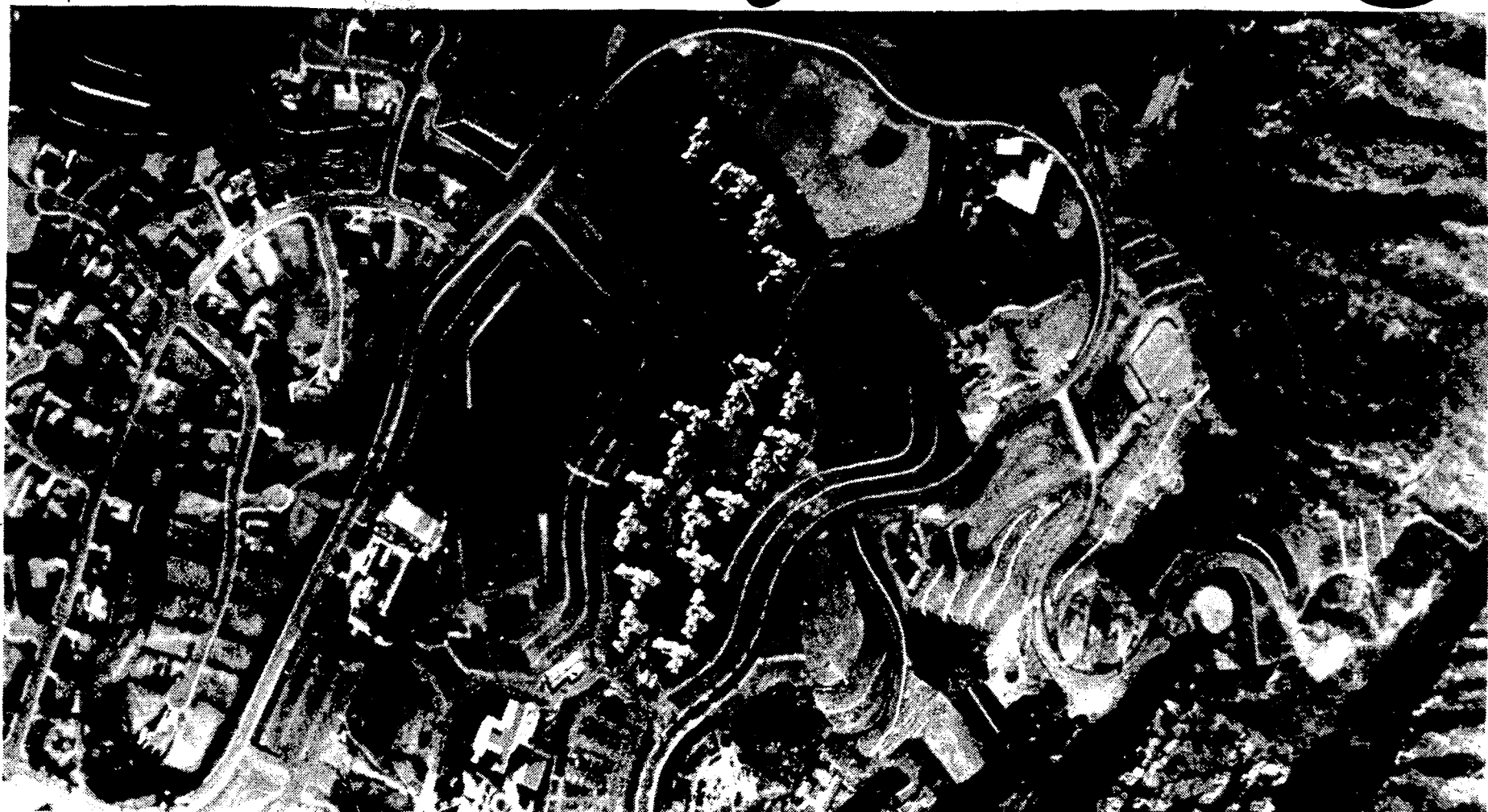
ABT has found a permanent home in New York at the Metropolitan Opera House and has been designated the Kennedy Center's company in residence. Its productions of *Giselle* and *Swan Lake* (starring Makarova and Baryshnikov) have been broadcast nationally over PBS. The company not only enjoys the blessings of the establishment, but as mounting ticket prices indicate, it has become chic entertainment for the upper classes. Student rush tickets and dance passes have been discontinued, and with the rise in audience age and income has come an increasingly conservative repertory.

The Turning Point glorifies ballet at its glamorous and fashionable best. ABT's recent history illustrates the dangers of mortgaging a company's future to big-money patrons.

—Lynn Garafola

Lynn Garafola reviews films and dance regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

Death by Smog



Farming patterns in Southern California have changed drastically because of smog damage. People have given up growing more than 20 different crops that have proven susceptible.

Jane Melnick

Though city air may be getting clearer, smog damage to vegetation has been increasing. It will cost millions of dollars in lost food production next year.

By Peter Wiley
Pacific News Service

BAKERSFIELD, CALIF.—Drought may have cost the nation as much as \$8-10 billion worth of food this year, but the long-range impact of another crop killer—smog—may be even more devastating.

According to U.S. Department of Agriculture plant physiologist Walter Heck, national estimates of smog damage to vegetation now range from \$150 million to \$1 billion a year. The California Air Resources Board (CARB) reports that smog damage in this state alone will cost consumers \$55 million this year.

Those dollar costs are low compared to estimates for drought damage—\$2 billion in California alone. But droughts come and go, while smog damage has been increasing dramatically from year to year despite air pollution controls.

Some monitors now show cleaner air in major cities but higher concentrations of pollutants miles downwind. "The air may be better in the cities, but vegetation is telling us something different," says California air pollution specialist Sydney Thornton.

"The pollution level is increasing and the picture looks even grimmer if there is a rise in the use of high-sulfur fuels," Thornton, the author of the recent CARB report, said.

Farming patterns in California's South Coast Air Basin, which includes Los Angeles and Riverside counties, have already changed drastically because of smog damage. Farmers have given up trying to grow 20 different crops—from spinach to grapes—that have proven susceptible to pollution.

With California producing some 10 percent of the nation's fruit and vegetables, long-range crop damage here will have significant national impact.

Heck, head of a federal pollution research team at North California State University, says smog damage has been reported "throughout the eastern U.S. and is especially severe from North Carolina to

Boston due to the large number of cities."

In previous years eastern cotton, potato and tobacco crops have been significantly damaged by smog.

Heck spoke of one frightening incident in Paducah, Ky., where freak meteorological conditions brought the smoke from a Tennessee Valley Authority power plant down on nearby soybean and tobacco crops for three hours. Despite the limited exposure, crop yields were reduced from 10 to 20 percent.

Wide variety of sources.

According to Thornton, sulfur dioxide and ozone concentrations are the major pollutants responsible for the damage. These concentrations come from a wide variety of sources, including auto emissions, oil fields, power plants, fertilizer manufacturing, spray cans and home heating.

In California's San Joaquin Valley, one of the richest food-producing areas in the world, smog damage is concentrated at the southern end of the valley, near Bakersfield. U.S. Forest Service reports indicate the largest sources are the rapidly growing valley cities of Fresno and Bakersfield. San Francisco and Los Angeles also may be leaking pollution into the area.

"We suspect that at least part of the problem comes from increased activity in the oil fields in the Bakersfield area," says Thornton.

Getty Oil Co., a major producer in the Kern River field east of Bakersfield, is also monitoring pollutants. Getty's environmental specialist, Fred Hagist, denies that sulfur dioxide caused by oil field operations is a major factor in crop damage.

Hagist's claims are echoed by the Western Oil and Gas Association (WOGA), representing the oil industry in six western states. WOGA is challenging CARB's present sulfur dioxide standard in a court case.

WOGA assistant general manager Robert Harrison says that protection of plants and humans does not require the strict standards set by CARB.

Grim reminders.

While the conflict continues between environmental protection and the fuel needs of the economy, there are grim reminders of what prolonged failure to solve the problem would mean.

In the Cucamonga area, east and downwind of Los Angeles, only dead stumps remain where grape vineyards once stretched for miles. And in the San Ber-

nadino Mountains—a major recreational area along the northern edge of the smog corridor running from L.A. to Palm Springs—one million ponderosa and Jeffrey pines have been hit by smog disease.

"If these forests were being managed for timber rather than recreation, this mortality rate of 3.5 percent exceeds what would be removed for lumber," reports CARB.

In the East, Heck cites an increase in the acidity of rain. He points to auto emissions, smelters and power plants using high sulfur coal as major sources. But, he emphasizes, "the basic problem with this kind of research is that we end up hypothesizing without data because no one has an adequate funding base to do long-term studies."

Data is even more inconclusive about the possibility of pollutants entering the food chain and endangering human health. Most scientists have traditionally argued that heavy elements like lead and cadmium, while easily absorbed by the human body, could not be absorbed by plants and could be washed off produce.

A recent Ministry of Environment Study in Ontario, Canada, however, found very high lead concentrates in soil, vegetation and human blood in areas around smelters. The study prompted Canadian scientists for the first time to warn against the dangers of eating food grown in high-pollution areas.

Thus far researchers in California have focused on the dangers from pollutant contamination, particularly from lead and cadmium, in urban gardens and adjacent to heavily traveled streets.

Laws for people, not plants.

While no clear link has been established between crop damage and damage to humans, most researchers agree that any increase in lead in the food chain would be an unacceptable risk, especially to women and children.

The irony, as Thornton points out, is that present laws setting acceptable smog levels are designed to protect people rather than vegetation. And while such laws aim at major pollutants such as sulfur dioxide, a combination of pollutants, each separately present at supposedly safe levels, is damaging crops.

"We need stricter standards to protect plants," Thornton concludes.

Peter Wiley is a fellow of the Ford Foundation-funded Third Century America Project of the University of California, Berkeley.